



ERRATA.

Introduction, Page iii. l. 3. after Chevalier *del* comma.

Page 3. l. 16. for Scean, *read* Scæan.

— 4. l. 20. for Sigæan, *read* Sigean.

— 10. l. 9. for *ἰμῶδον*, *read* *οὐδον*.

— 15. l. 28. for Metrodofus, *read* Metrodorus.

— 25. l. 29. after they issued, *add* both.

— 37. l. 7. after that *add* it.

— 41. l. 9. for *seperate*, *read* separate.

A

VINDICATION OF HOMER

AND OF THE

ANCIENT POETS AND HISTORIANS,

WHO HAVE RECORDED THE

SIEGE AND FALL OF TROY.

IN

ANSWER TO TWO LATE PUBLICATIONS OF Mr. BRYANT.

WITH A MAP AND PLATES.

— FUIT ILIUM, ET INGENS
GLORIA TEUCRORUM.

By J. B. S. MORRITT, Esq.

Scr

L O R K:

PRINTED BY W. BLANCHARD, FOR T. CADELL, JUN. AND W. DAVIES,
BOOKSELLERS, STRAND, LONDON.

1798.



A VINDICATION OF HOMER, &c.

Introduction.

IT is a misfortune attending on all old and established truths, that whilst they are received in the world as matters of general notoriety, or undoubted authority, we are contented to take them upon trust, and, not irrationally, give credit to the opinions of those, who had better opportunities than ourselves to judge of their truth or falsehood. Yet this very circumstance, by which truth extends the frontiers of her empire, greatly weakens her internal powers of defence, and lulled into security by the number of her adherents she is too often unprepared to ward off the attacks against her person at home. In the present instance, Mr. BRYANT has afforded us a striking proof of this assertion. The story of the TROJAN WAR rendered immortal by the greatest Poet of Antiquity, was received in early Greece as an historical fact, from thence it has travelled down to us; but it had already been the means of conferring so much celebrity upon the pen of HOMER, that whilst the historians of all ages recorded the event, the Poets embellished and obscured a plain tale with every charm of fiction. Relying on this general, if not universal assent, we add our own tacit acquiescence to an opinion prevalent through a long succession of ages. Sceptics, it is true, have appeared upon this subject before Mr. Bryant,

“ Sed omnes illacrymabiles
“ Urguentur ignotique longâ
“ Nocte ——— ”

The little effect which their writings have produced on the opinions of mankind, shews at least that the facts upon which those opinions were founded could not at that time be overturned. A more successful attack is now made upon them, and it is thought by many, that the claims of Antiquity have been legally set aside. Let us attempt, however, generously to support her titles, and perhaps if we search candidly for them, their dusty remains will be found, not much impaired, in the neglected archives of time, and common sense. Previous to this however we will examine the arguments by which they have been superseded; since neither authority nor reasoning can be conclusive, whilst assertions are admitted which impeach the foundations of both. It is necessary therefore to refute the charges now too generally admitted against her, before we can restore to Antiquity her pristine honours. In my defence of her cause, however, declining all advantage arising from methodical arrangement, I shall take the arguments of Mr. Bryant in the order in which he has placed them, and following him step by step, will reply to his reasonings as concisely as possible, referring those who chuse to know more of the controversy to the perusal of his extraordinary publication.

HOMER an historian.*

In the opening of his subject Mr. Bryant begins with a due homage to the genius and writings of Homer. He candidly acknowledges many of the circumstances which have contributed to place him in the rank of an historian as well as a poet, and allows that the characteristics of the Iliad are "feldom to be found in romance or fable." He nevertheless immediately declares his disbelief of the whole story, and even of the existence of the far-famed City, the object of the war; which in his opinion was never built in Phrygia.

He

* MR. BRYANT on the War of Troy, Chap. I. Concerning the excellence of HOMER and his Precision.

He then expresses a fear that, though "the alternative" may be quite innocent, his going contrary to the popular opinion may procure him some ill-will. Whilst I disclaim any ill-will to Mr. Bryant on this account, I cannot help observing that, notwithstanding this appearance of candor, he does not seem to me to have considered the alternative with indifference. The reader will judge, whether his statements are always perfectly fair, and if he finds that interpretations are given by him to classical passages wholly unwarranted by the context, translations materially differing from their originals, and erroneous transcripts from the originals themselves, he will be apt to smile at the fervour of that zeal which has stepped forward, under the mask of inquiring for literary truth, to defend a favourite Egyptian system.

HOMER'S Truth or Falschhood, an alternative not indifferent to Mr. BRYANT.

The want of precision in primitive chronology is the first objection brought by Mr. Bryant against the veracity of Homer, repeating therefore once more the articles of his disbelief, he adds, that he adheres firmly to the assertion of Varro, that the Greeks had no certain intelligence before the Olympiads. Censorinus, however, from whom he quotes, has given the passage in the following manner: "M. Varro 'primam Olympiadem terminum ponit inter *μυθικον* tempus, & historicum.'" But though we assign the first Olympiad as the æra of accurate chronological history, surely some events took place before that time, and may be preserved by Homer's works, though we cannot date every portion of the history with the same precision as we can that of Thucydides. Homer was a poet, and might be an historian without detailing chronology. But the scepticism which fixes a doubt upon all history prior to the Olympiads, and credits all Grecian history subsequent to that time, appears to me to draw a line between history and fable, with a precision which can hardly be supported. Homer and Hesiod lived before the Olympiads,

Chronological accuracy not essential to the establishment of historical facts.*

* No historical certainty previous to the Olympiads. BRYANT, p. 9.

Olympiads, if their works were destroyed, therefore, we might doubt their existence. Indeed this is the case with Orpheus, Linus, Musæus, and Thamyris, for the forgeries which have appeared under their names, may be, according to this system, fabricated on the authority of mistaken tradition, and not on proofs of their having really existed. Where then are we to stop? Yet if I succeed in shewing that the story of Homer contains no anachronisms, or inconsistencies, and that it was supported by a decisive concurrence of internal, traditional, and historical evidence, the reader will not easily acquiesce in the scepticism required of him. Another passage quoted from Justin Martyr is adduced, as confirming this assertion of Varro.* I am sorry to

N O T E.

* BRYANT, page 9. ἄλλως τε καὶ τὸ τοῦ υμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν προσηνέκει οὔτε οὐδὲν Ἑλλήσι περὶ τῶν ὀλυμπιαδῶν ἀκριβὲς ἰσότηται· καὶ ἐστὶ τι συγγράμμα παλαιὸν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων σημαίνειν πρᾶξιν.

“ Besides you ought to be well apprised that the Grecians have no history upon which they can depend antecedent to the Olympiads. They have no written evidence of any Antiquity relating either to themselves or other nations.”

This comparative argument between the antiquity of the Sacred Writers, and the early histories and fables of Grecians, a frequent topic with the controversial Writers of Christianity at this time; but when they assert that the æra of Troy was long subsequent to the facts recorded by the Jewish Lawgiver, they must not be understood as doubting the existence of the City, to whose destruction they annex a positive date. Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, infers from Manetho, that Moses and the Hebrews were 900 or 1000 years antecedent to the Trojan, or rather Ilian war; *προγενέστερον εἶναι τὸν Μωσὴν καὶ τὰς σὺν αὐτῷ ἐνεακοσίους ἢ χίλιους πρὸ τοῦ Ἰλιακοῦ πολέμου*. Theophil. Antiochen. ad Autolicum, l. 3, p. 253. Again he declares, “ that not only Moses but the other Prophets preceded all profane writers, and also Cronus, Belus, and the Ilian war; for according to the history of Thallus, Belus is found to have lived only 322 years before the siege of Ilium, and we have already found that he considers the æra of Moses as no less than 930 years previous to that event.” Ibid, p. 382. Lactantius cites this last passage from Theophilus, and then deriding the temporary Gods of Heathen worship, in order to evince the recent date assigned to Saturn’s birth, who was, however, the father of the rest, he founds a chronology on the computed ages of several generations, and adds, “ ab excidio autem urbis Trojanæ colliguntur anni 1470,” thus making this event the æra from whence history assumed a more regular form; for here the years are no longer computed by genealogical computation. Lactant. l. 1, c. 23. Speaking of Moses in another place, he says, “ Trojanum Bellum nongentis fere annis antecessit.” Ibid. l. 4, c. 5.

to charge both the application and version of this sentence with unfairness. Justin is asserting the higher antiquity of Moses, and he does not say that the Grecians "had no history on which they could depend," but that they had "none which was accurately detailed," like the records of the Pentateuch; in comparison with it "they had no writing of antiquity;" but the war of Troy was subsequent, and Homer still more so.

Paris, an Asiatic Prince, came to a Grecian Court, which he insulted by carrying off the Queen of the Country, and a quantity of treasure and slaves, the property of her husband. In this plain story there is nothing very incredible. Mr. Bryant, however, collecting together the miraculous stories related by different Greek authors, sees nothing on every side but a mass of impenetrable fiction.* The supernatural birth of Helen, the dreams of Hecuba, the education of Paris, † and the contest of the three

The grounds of the War adequate.*

NOTES.

* Origen in his answer to Celsus, in reply to a demand for evidence on a point denied by his adversary, prefaces his argument by an observation so much to my purpose I cannot help transcribing it. "However true a narrative may be," he observes, "it is generally difficult, if not impossible, to establish its truth uncontrovertibly. Suppose for instance, that the story of the Ilian war is denied, and the denial supported by the many impossible circumstances annexed to the history of that event, how are we to act in such a case, where pressed with fiction interwoven with the universally prevalent opinion that the war of Ilium, between the Greeks and Trojans did really and truly take place." Παρὰ πᾶσι δόξη περὶ τῆ ἀληθείας γεγονέναι τὸν ἐν Ἰλίῳ πόλεμον Ἑλλήνων καὶ Τρωϊῶν. Origen's conclusions from the impossible events were very different from Mr. Bryant's, and the war of Troy was by him looked on as an undoubted fact, though a few ostensible objections might easily be brought against it. Origen. contra Celsum, l. i. p. 32. Edit. Spenceri. Cantab. 1658, 4to.

† Paris was appointed the arbitrator between the Goddesses on account of his exemplary justice, an opinion which Mr. Bryant gives on the authority of Natalis Comes, and then argues on the absurdity of this assertion; but Natalis Comes is so modern, that this circumstance alone answers all that can be brought forward on this subject; and cannot attach such a charge upon Homer, who partakes very little in the absurdity of his successors. But the antient authors do not seem to agree in this opinion of his justice, for antecedent to his judgment every claimant for the apple offered him a different bribe, therefore he was at least deemed capable of corruption.

* Observations on the grounds of the War. BRYANT, page 10.

Goddeſſes, are in his opinion abſurdities ſo groſs as to impeach the credit of every part of the ſtory. When in ſubſequent times Alexander claimed a heavenly deſcent, and had his claim allowed by the flatterers of his Court, the civilization of the age ſcarce then prevented the miracle from being credited. In the days of Leda, Olympias would have received equal honours, yet we give very implicit credence to the exiſtence of Alexander. Another remark I would make is, that many of the ſtories are reveries of the Poets, or popular legends totally unconnected with Homer. Some of them might convey alluſions which have long ceaſed to be underſtood. The traditions of an infant people are always fabulous, and often allegorical, and the introduction of theſe fictions would with them greatly enhance the merit of a poem, though the foundation of that poem might nevertheless be a plain hiſtorical fact. Far from palliating or apologiſing for the abſurdity of theſe collateral ſtories, I ſhall boldly aſſert that I do not perceive how any inference can be drawn from them to invalidate facts which partake not of their abſurdity, and that a very ſtrong inference may be drawn on the other ſide, ſince they ſhow that traditions relative to the war of Troy exiſted independent of Homer, and therefore that he was the relater not the inventor of the hiſtory.

* Circumſtances of the antecedent armament probable.*

I will now proceed to conſider the conduct of the war and the antecedent armament which took place immediately after the elopement of Helen. Menelaus, the principal ſufferer by this outrage, united himſelf with his Brother, who was a man of power and comparatively extenſive dominion. Greece at this time ſwarmed with warlike adventurers, and whiſt Agriculture was neglected, and Commerce unknown, her bands of warriors

led by enterprising chieftains, were ever ready to assemble, when the standard of war was erected. Summoned by two of the most powerful leaders in Greece, and supported by their alliances, a large confederacy was formed at Aulis. It is however less to be considered as a combination of States than as an assembly of warlike adventurers, "Amongst these were Bœotians, Locrians, Megarians, Ætolians, and Thesprotians of Dodona—the people also of Samos, Rhodes, and Crete, contributed a portion of men and shipping." To this confederacy therefore we find that a number of warriors acceded who were by no means personally injured, and who had little or no connexion with Menelaus and Agamemnon.* This with Mr. Bryant is an insuperable difficulty, but what reason have we to suppose that they were

BRYANT, page 12.

N O T E.

* A story so analogous to that of Troy is given us in Mitford's History of Greece, that I cannot help transcribing it; its having happened is a proof at least of the possibility of a considerable force taking arms on such an occasion, and it is against this possibility, that Mr. Bryant directs his first arguments. "Exploits like that of Paris, were in the twelfth century not uncommon in Ireland. Dermot, King of Leinster, formed a design on Dervorghal, a celebrated beauty, wife of O'Ruark, King of Leitrim, and by force or fraud succeeded in carrying her off. O'Ruark resented the affront as might be expected. He procured a confederacy of the neighbouring chieftains, with the King of Connaught, the most powerful Prince in Ireland at their head. Leinster was invaded, the Princess was recovered, and after hostilities continued with various success, during many years, Dermot was expelled from his kingdom." The fugitive Dermot afterwards interested Henry the Second in his quarrel, and the conquest of Ireland by the English, was the result of this private animosity. (See "Mitford's History of Greece." Vol. 1. chap. 1. sect. 4.) How happened it that the King of Connaught and Henry the Second took so much interest in a quarrel for a woman, "with whom none but the husband was concerned?" (Bryant, page 17.) "The loss of a wife (whether Dervorghal or Helen) was a private misfortune in which O'Ruark or Menelaus only were interested." We must allow then that what really happened in Ireland, might happen in Greece. I take this opportunity also to acknowledge, that, though previous to reading this passage in Mitford, I had written the greatest part of this work, yet on opening his ingenious apology for Homer, which precedes the story I have quoted, I was highly gratified to find so many of my arguments anticipated, and done such ample justice to by that Gentleman, that I scarce had brought forward any answer to this part of Mr. Bryant's work, which was not sanctioned by his high authority. See the whole of the section, (Mitford, sect. 4. chap. 1.)

actuated

actuated only by the chivalrous motive * of recovering the frail runaway wife of Menelaus. † Achilles declares that he came thither from a personal regard to Agamemnon and Menelaus, the same motive might possibly influence many others ; a strong desire of military fame formed another motive, for in those days of piratical violence, the heroes who asserted the cause of justice, stood in the place of the Gods, and were almost revered as such by the enthusiastic gratitude of the nations they protected or avenged. Resentment of a breach of hospitality was also an inducement, the more powerful since the curse which must follow such a crime in their idea almost insured success. But with numbers, no doubt, the chief allurements which the confederacy presented was the promised plunder of Northern Asia. The petty chieftains who, as Mr. Bryant justly observes, were continually engaged in a freebooting warfare, would as certainly unite when a greater plunder offered, and a large force was assembling for the purpose of obtaining it. Greece, at this moment, swarms with adventurous hordes who are ever ready to join in the wars of the Turkish Governors, and are frequently employed in the heart of Asia, on whatever side the greatest pay is to be acquired, or the greatest plunder is to be expected. And yet we find that agriculture is neglected, piracy frequent, little communication between the provinces, in short every characteristic of the early times, excepting their freedom and their honour. This analogy is unanswerable, and we shall allow it the more easily when we find it acknowledged by Mr. Bryant himself, that

N O T E.

* Menelaus himself disavows this motive in Euripides, and assigns that of revenge for the insult he had received. See *Troades*.

† *Hom.* *Il.* i, 150.—Bryant on the Trojan War, p. 13.

Thucydides

Thucydides was aware of all these obnoxious circumstances relative to the manners of the heroic ages and yet never considered them as objections to the truth of Homer's story.

The same chapter however contains another objection of Mr. Bryant, in these words: "It seems strange that so many Cities and States should combine to regain her (Helen) when she went away voluntarily, and that not a single hamlet should rise in her favour when she was carried away by force (by Theseus) and in violation of the Goddesses whom she served." There are many different accounts of this Rape of Helen, some of which are enumerated by Plutarch. Without considering the grounds of the story, I do not perceive that it is at all "strange" that the armament which took place against Troy should not have been levied against Theseus. In Mr. Bryant's account indeed we find that Castor and Pollux *alone* pursued him to recover her, and that they pursued him *immediately*; since he argues from their age that Helen was then a woman. In this however there is much inaccuracy. Her brothers pursued her; but not till they had * levied a considerable force. They besieged Athens during the absence of Theseus in Epirus, and after defeating the Athenian forces, near Aphydne, took that fortress where they recovered their sister. These particulars are also from Plutarch, with many other circumstances which shew the generality of these traditional stories. Since Castor and Pollux did in fact collect forces sufficient to recover their sister and revenge the insult offered them, there was certainly no occasion for a more numerous armament; neither was the house of Tyndarus powerful

No analogy conclusive from the first Rape of Helen by Theseus.

See Plutarch, Theseus.

N O T E.

- * From whence were these forces levied, if not a single hamlet would furnish them?

C

enough

enough by its alliances and opulence, to assemble round it such auxiliaries as were afterwards convened under the more promising auspices of the sons of Atreus. When Mr. Bryant therefore concludes, that the whole history is a fable inconsistent from the beginning to the end, the reader must decide whether the arguments he has hitherto brought forward will justify such a general conclusion.

War of Troy recorded by Thucydides.

*In his next chapter which we now come to consider, Mr. Bryant begins with an acknowledgement which will have much weight with all who are inclined to give credit to the common sense of ancient Greece. "Thucydides," he says, "though sagacious and a lover of truth, could not set aside the history of the Trojan war ;" the Glory and Religion of his country were too much interested in the belief of that event. But we do not find that this historian ever attempts to *set aside* the story of the Trojan war, nor are we authorised to attribute to him any such motives for his preservation of it ; on the contrary, he gives it a formal historical sanction. He relates it as a well known fact, and when we consider the many opportunities he had of examining the truth, and the multitude of collateral testimonies which time and barbarism have since annihilated, we cannot avoid giving some credit to the deliberate opinion of an historian so judicious, and an age so enlightened. Without resting our defence however upon his authority, let us consider the objections which Mr. Bryant raises from his narration. He had told us that before this event the Grecians had done nothing in common, that they were in an uncertain and roving state. He describes the Pelasgi as *wandering* in the country, where in consequence of their want of security there was no traffick and little correspondence. It was uncertain

Want of civilisation
no argument against
the war.

N O T E.

* "The farther improbability of this history." Mr. Bryant on the war of Troy, p. 16.

into

into what hands their treasures or harvests might fall, so that commerce and agriculture were equally neglected. "How comes it then," says Mr. Bryant, "that just at this crisis they should unite to recover a runaway woman, and that a hundred thousand men should assemble from those states, which could collect only ten thousand men at Marathon, and scarce seven thousand at Thermopylæ."

We will for one moment pause here to observe the little analogy between these events and the expedition of the Grecians against Troy. The army of Marathon consisted of Athenians alone, if we except one thousand Platæans, who were their only allies in the combat. The troops of Leonidas were sent to defend a narrow defile, till a larger army could be levied to oppose the enemy; in both cases the Grecian forces consisted of a few heroes raised in haste to prevent a surprize, till their countrymen could prepare a more effectual resistance. At the battle of Platæa it seems their army was much larger; it consisted according to Mr. Bryant of 72,500 men, *excluding the Helots*; but as these also were Greeks we may include them, and we shall find that the whole army consisted of (ενδεκα μυριαδες) 110,000 men. It will be remembered also that the Greeks were arming both by sea and land at the same time, and that at the battle of Mycale no small force was engaged with the Persians on the very day of the action at Platæa.* It

N O T E.

* List of the Forces at Platæa according to Herodotus.

	Men.
Laonians and Spartans	10,000
Tegeates,	1,500
Corinthians,	5,000
Potidæans,	300
Arcadian Orchomenians,	600
Sicyonians,	3,000

Epidaurians,

It will be observed also, that these were levied from a * much smaller district than the armament against Troy, and at a time when many States of Greece were divided from the league by

NOTES.

	Men.
Brought forward	20,400
Epidaurians,	800
Træzenians,	1,000
Lepreatæ,	200
Mycenæans and Tirynthians,	400
Phliasians,	1,000
Hermioneans,	300
Eretrians and Styrenses,	600
Chalcidenfes,	400
Ampracians,	500
Leucadians and Anacltorienfes,	800
Paleenfes,	200
Æginates,	500
Megarenfes,	3,000
Plataeans,	600
Athenians,	8,000
Unarmed Thefpians,	1,800
Light Armed Greeks,	34,500
Light Armed Helots,	35,000
<hr/>	
Total	110,000 ενδεκα μυριαδες
Deduct Helots,	35,000
<hr/>	
Remain,	75,000
Deduct the unarmed Thefpians,	1,800
<hr/>	
Remain,	73,200
<hr/>	

Therefore Mr. Bryant's statement of 72,500 is inaccurate even on his own principles. Herodot. b. ix, p. 597.

* Lift of the Districts which furnished Troops for the Siege of Troy :

Boeotia, Phocis, Locris, Euboea, Athens, Salamis, Argolis, Mycenæ, Sicyon and Corinth, Achaia, Laconia, Messenia, Arcadia, Elis, Islands on the West Coasts, Acarnania and Ætolia, Crete, Rhodes, Islands on the South of the Ægean, and Thessaly.

their

their politics, or weakened by intestine divisions. It seems strange to Mr. Bryant "that an army like that at Plataea should be thought an extraordinary exertion, at a time when Greece abounded both in wealth and men; and yet that she should be able in the rude ages described by * Thucydides, to levy and support so extraordinary an armament as that under Agamemnon." But our astonishment will cease when we reflect that the barbarous and uncivilised ages of the world have ever furnished armies whose numbers in civilised times are almost deemed fabulous. To produce some instances of this: We find in Pausanias, that when the Celtæ invaded Greece, under Brennus, the numbers of the Barbarian army amounted to no less than 152,000 foot and 61,200 horsemen, in all to 213,200 effective men. The Cimbri and Teutones, whom Marius conquered, brought into the field against him 300,000 effective men, according to Plutarch, an army which would be hardly levied in modern Germany, with every advantage of wealth and civilisation. The Gauls, who in the time of the Republic sacked and burnt the City of Rome, and the Huns, Goths, and Vandals, of later times, assembled troops which astonish almost to incredulity, those who compare them with the modern population of Northern Europe. The very circumstances of rudeness and barbarism which form the ground work of Mr. Bryant's argument, are in reality the proofs of its futility. Armies are much sooner levied in barbarous and uncivilised countries, where no commerce employs the in-

N O T E.

* Thucydides himself thought so differently upon this subject, that he expressly tells us the armies of the Greeks under Agamemnon were less than might be expected from the extent and population of the districts which levied them; a circumstance he attributes to the difficulty of victualling a larger army in those days. Thucyd. l. i. c. 10, 11.

dustry of mankind, no agriculture attaches them to their native soil, and where in consequence the whole population consists of roving adventurers, ever ready to assemble from desire of military fame, or the stronger inducements of plunder. We must also allow for the amplification of tradition, and we must naturally suppose the Greek Poet would endeavour to enhance the glory of his country by adopting the greatest number which that tradition afforded. If he candidly consider all this, I believe the reader will hardly acquiesce in Mr. Bryant's conclusion against the possibility of the expedition.

Concerning the ships mentioned. BRYANT, page 18.

The next objection which Mr. Bryant makes to Homer's history, is founded on the incredibility of so great a number of ships being fitted out for the Trojan expedition, by States which contributed so few to the battles of Salamis and Artemisium. In the first place we will observe that the analogy between either of these instances and the Trojan armament, is not sufficiently close any way to justify Mr. Bryant's conclusion relative to the comparative force of the States at these different æras. The ships which transported Homer's heroes to Phrygia, were such as in those times were made use of indifferently for the purposes of commerce, piracy, and war, and such as the numerous Sea Ports and Islands of Greece might be very well supposed to possess; but the vessels which were opposed to the naval force of Persia, were armed Triremes and Pentecontores, built for the express purposes of war, and furnished not by individuals as in the case of Troy, but by the separate States, most of which, if we except Attica, were as yet nearly unprovided with a public naval force. It is then very possible that the ports of the Peloponnesus might possess at this early period 430 vessels fit for the purposes of transports, and yet not be able to equip above 89 ships of war

See Thucydides, l. i. ch. 9, 10, and 11.

war for the sea fight of Artemisium * and Salamis. What renders this still more probable is the fluctuating nature of commerce, and of maritime force in consequence. In fact we find that Athens which had alone attended carefully to her naval establishment, fitted out no fewer than 147 vessels to the sea fight at Artemisium, 20 of which were manned by Chalcidians, and afterwards at Salamis furnished 180 Triremes, besides 20 which were lent to the Chalcidians. Athens therefore furnished more vessels than double the whole force of the Peloponnesus, so little did the shipping of the ancients depend upon the comparative population of the country. In Homer's time or rather in Agamemnon's, † My-

NOTES.

* List of forces sent to Artemisium.

Triremes.		} States of Peloponnesus.
From Lacedæmon . . .	10	
From Corinth . . .	40	
From Sicyon . . .	12	
From Epidaurus . . .	8	
From Træzene . . .	5	
Total 75 Triremes.		
ADD TO THESE		
Chalcidians	20	
Athenians	127	
Megarenses	20	
Ægina	12	
Eretria	7	
Styrea	2	
Cios	2	2 Pentecontores.
Locri		7 Pentecontores.

Total force of the Greeks 265 Trir. 9 Pentecontores.

* List of ships sent to Salamis.

Triremes.		} States of Peloponnesus.
From Lacedæmon . . .	16	
From Sicyon . . .	15	
From Epidaurus . . .	10	
From Træzene . . .	5	
From Corinth . . .	40	
From Hermione . . .	3	
Total 89		
ADD TO THESE		
Athens	180	
Megara	20	
Ampracia	7	
Leucadia	3	
Ægina	30	
Chalcis	20	
Eretria	7	
Melos, Syphnos, and Seriphos		4 Pentecontores.
Cios	2	2 Pentecontores.
Naxos	4	
Styrea	2	
Cynthos	1	1 Pentecontores.
Crotona	1	

Total force of the Greeks 368 Trir. 7 Pentecontores.

† Mr. Bryant denies the accounts given us by the ancient writers concerning Mycenæ. I shall discuss his objections in their turn. The reader ought to be apprized that the accounts here dwelt upon are from Strabo, Pausanias, and Diodorus Siculus.

cenæ and Argos were at the head of a flourishing country, which at the time of the Persian war had declined, from the predominance of Sparta and Athens. The great Legislator of Sparta had not as yet forbid the Lacedemonians to engage in commerce, and it is probable that their maritime affairs were at this time on a much more considerable scale than they were for centuries after the Legislation of Lycurgus. We see then that a partial comparison between the forces of the Peloponnesus at two periods so essentially different, is extremely fallacious; and if we extend the list to the forces of the Greeks in general we shall find that at Artemisium they had no fewer than 265 Triremes, and 368 at Salamis. These form a force more than equal in maritime strength to Agamemnon's fleet of transports, and as far as the argument rests upon the number of men, it is I apprehend answered in the last section.

In the concluding paragraph of this chapter, Mr. Bryant, dismissing the consideration of these comparative forces, brings another argument against the possibility of the expedition. It was a long time, he says, before the Greeks ventured to traverse the Ægean, and quotes Libanius* to prove that they never ventured farther than Delos. Whatever might be the state of Greece afterwards, we have the strongest ground for believing this assertion to be false at the time when Homer wrote. In fact how can we suppose that a nation was thus entirely ignorant of sea affairs, who were themselves imported into Greece and Asia, by Tyrian and Egyptian fleets, considerably prior to the Trojan expedition. The early intercourse with the latter, to which Mr. Bryant refers even the story of the Iliad, and

N O T E.

* Libanius was tutor to Julian, and his authority therefore respecting the state of early Greece, is entitled to very little attention (if any) when controverted by the ancient historians.

the family of Homer himself, prove sufficiently that the navigation to Egypt by Crete, was well known, through a stormy expanse of water far more dangerous than the seas which separate Greece from Troy, in all which they could easily run by day from island to island, or along the coasts. Indeed prior to the Iliad we hear of an expedition to Colchos; but without having recourse to what looks like fable, I will ask if the fact is not sufficiently proved by the history of the times? *From Diodorus Siculus we receive the following account of the Cyclades, and maritime powers that possessed them in the early times. “Minos, the son of Jupiter and Europa, reigning in Crete, and having great forces *both naval and military held the Empire of the Sea*, and sent many colonies from Crete. He civilised most of the Islands of the Cyclades, and divided them by lot amongst the colonists; he also obliged great part of the Asiatic coast to submit to his dominion. Hence many of the ports of Asia and Crete were in after ages called Minoæ. After this he joined Rhadamanthus his brother in the kingly authority, on account of the extent of his dominions, but becoming envious of his influence obliged him afterwards to leave Crete, and fly to the extremity of his colonial possessions; here he induced Erythrus to build the town of Erythræ on the coast of Ionia, and gave Œnopion, the son of Ariadne, the sovereignty of Chios. And these things (says Diodorus) took place before the war of Troy. But after that event the Carians (*another maritime power*) conquered the island, and in part exterminated, in part subdued the Cretans; since which the Greeks becoming powerful supplanted the Carians in their turn, and vindicated their pos-

N O T E.

* Μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἔχων πεζικὰς τε καὶ ναυτικὰς ἐβλάττονεν, &c. Diodor. Siculus, lib. v. p. 399. Edit. Wesfelingii. Fol. Amstel. 1745.

session of the islands." So far Diodorus. These last conquests of the Greeks over the Carians took place not long after the war of Troy, at the time of the Ionic migration, of which the reader may find an account in the 14th book of Strabo, and a still more minute one in the 7th book of Pausanias, both of whom give the particulars of their colonization. Thucydides too, "sagacious and a lover of truth," (for these are Mr. Bryant's own words respecting him) mentions the Carian and Phœnician pirates, and the Empire of Minos over the Sea.† For, says he, the inhabitants of the Islands, at that time Carians and Phœnicians, exercised constant piracy; but when Minos had established a fleet, the seas became more navigable, for he drove many of the pirates out and settled colonies in the Islands. The Greeks, who before had chiefly lived inland, did now, as he tells us, remove their towns nearer to the sea-shore for the sake of commerce; the States of Greece assumed a more regular form, and thus, he proceeds, *having become powerful they afterwards warred with Troy*. Homer himself gives a very detailed account of the Phœnicians; and Hesiod in his works and days, mentions the commerce of the times as much carried on by sea. Such a mass of authority will, I apprehend, be deemed a sufficient answer to Mr. Bryant's inference from the almost modern Libanius.

But he strengthens his argument still farther by a quotation from Herodotus, who says that a fleet from Argolis and Sparta refused in the Persian war to sail beyond Delos.* Mr. Bryant it will be observed in this passage, puts a little dash where

N O T E S.

† Thucydides, l. i. ch. 8.

* Herodot. l. viii. c. 132. p. 682. Mr. Bryant on the War of Troy, p. 22.

a part of the sentence is omitted; but the reader should be informed that the rest of it runs thus, "All beyond seemed full of danger, as they had little knowledge of those parts, *which appeared to them to be full of enemies.*" Their fears then proceeded from the dread of falling in with a superior fleet. We should also reflect, that soon after the Trojan wars, Greece underwent a cruel revolution. The thrones of the Peloponnesus were completely overturned: Mycenæ, Argos, and Lacedæmon, underwent a variety of changes; Athens was long torn by civil dissensions; the Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians, were forced from their country, and the manners and civilization of Greece, of which Homer is at once a witness and a proof, were thrown back into a barbarism from which neither their arts nor sciences emerged till the age of the Pisistratidæ, which immediately preceded the time of the Persian wars. Add to this, that Lycurgus had forbidden navigation to the Spartans who at this time commanded the Grecian fleet. However ignorant therefore they might be from subsequent disuse, we cannot suppose that they were in the same ignorance at the time of Agamemnon, when the sea had been covered with Phœnician and Egyptian colonists, who of course imported with them the naval arts of their native country.

The conduct of the Grecians on their disembarkation, furnishes Mr. Bryant with another objection; but notwithstanding the absurdity which he discovers in the whole of Homer's story, I own I can see nothing in their conduct and proceedings on and after their landing in Troas, that is not highly probable, and strictly conformable to the tactics of the time he represents. Upon the first appearance of the Greeks before Troy they were immediately opposed, and suffered some loss; they nevertheless
effected

effected their landing and beat the enemy back into the city.* Of what followed we know but a small part, the writings of Homer comprising in detail no more than a few months of the tenth year. We only know that whilst the attacks upon the town were suspended, the coasts of Thrace, Asia, and the neighbouring Islands, were ravaged by the Grecian army; that some of the Grecians, and particularly Achilles, distinguished themselves by this warfare of pillage; that the camp was by this means supplied with provisions, and that the different independent forces which combined in the war were kept together by a participation in the plunder. Agamemnon would have shewn himself a very impolitic general if he had acted otherwise, and by a tedious investment of a strongly fortified place, disgusted and wearied out men who cared little for the termination of the war, provided the prosecution of it was attended with profit to them individually. Homer's silence on this subject by no means proves that no attacks were made upon the city in all this time. The ships were sometimes employed on these expeditions; sometimes inland incursions were made, the plunder was brought to Agamemnon, who divided it amongst the Chiefs. These assaults weakened the powers of Phrygia, and were perhaps designed to straiten the city for want of provisions. It is possible, in the mean time, that many events happened with which we are unacquainted; but it will not be easy to prove from Homer that the army acted with the absurdity Mr. Bryant ascribes to them, since Homer says little or nothing about the army in all this time.

Homer, *Il. l. ix. v. 325.*

N O T E.

* I shall so frequently have occasion to make use of this same answer to Mr. Bryant's arguments in the following chapters that I must warn the reader before-hand, that the point I wish to prove is only the general truth of Homer's story, not that he relates every detailed circumstance which happened during the war; in short, that the *Iliad* is true upon the whole, though it be not what Mr. Bryant seems to expect—a Trojan Gazette.

Yet

Yet it is a matter of wonder to him, that the Grecians should with superior forces, and heroes of such distinguished prowess, be nine years unable to make any effectual attack upon a city, which Patroclus could have taken in a few hours, and which Achilles was on the point of storming in one day but for the intervention of Apollo. Nevertheless we shall hardly join in this opinion if we reflect on the real strength of Troy, and the difficulty in those barbarous ages which attended the storming of a fortified city. The machines of war for that purpose were as yet not invented, and it must be obvious to every one, that though the Trojans with an inferior army might not be able to cope with their enemies *in battle*, they might be extremely well able to defend their town.* But it would be an insult to the reader's understanding to dwell long upon the comparative superiority of the Grecian heroes; Homer's national partiality is evident through his book, and the exaggerated hyperboles on the more than mortal might of Achilles and Patroclus are beautiful, but surely flattering compliments to the prejudices of his countrymen. Indeed we find from his testimony, that great as were the wonders which he says the valour of his countrymen "*might have*" performed, their hopes, were always unluckily disappointed; and Troy fell at last by an adventurous stratagem. But enough of this; for a more serious argument is contained in the next paragraph.

On the exaggerated superiority of the Grecian heroes.

There is no instance, according to Mr. Bryant, of any Grecian army carrying on a siege in winter till the Peloponnesian war, and at that time the Lacedemonians generally contented themselves with inroads into Attica, and never invested Athens. That in those barbarous ages armies were with difficulty kept together to prosecute a tedious siege, is very true;

Objection arising from the unfrequency of winter sieges prior to the Peloponnesian war, considered.

N O T E.

* In a subsequent age we find the Romans engaged for ten years before Veii; the forces of which could not resist them in the field.

but we have seen in this case that the war was frequently not so much a siege of Troy as an attack upon the whole Phrygian dominions. When they first landed they probably expected to carry the place by a coup de main; they were disappointed, the winter came on; where in fact could they go? the Thracians were hostile; the Ægean was impassable; they were therefore obliged to encamp. The difficulty of their subsistence accounts for their plundering the towns upon the coast; and I would ask whether, allowing that a winter campaign was never thought of before the Peloponnesian war, we can any way account for Homer's prophetic imagination? How in effect can we suppose, that a poet who is so accurate a describer of the manners of his times, would in a feigned story so openly violate all probability. Homer being therefore himself prior to the æra of the Peloponnesian war, it follows that Mr. Bryant's assertion proves too much. We read, however, of great discontents in the army, the natural consequence of so long a siege, and they appear always to be kept together by * emulation, shame of being baffled, prospects of plunder, hope of a speedy surrender, and a natural unwillingness to abandon an object which had cost them so much trouble. Such is the conduct of nature in similar circumstances, and such is recorded by Homer.

Objection from the
supposed decay of the
Shipping, considered.

† Mr. Bryant now starts another objection, for he asserts that

N O T E S.

* In the Second Book of Homer the Grecians are represented as on the point of quitting the siege, and are kept only by these motives being held out to them in the speeches of the different leaders. See those of Ulysses, Agamemnon, Nestor, &c. Il. ii. passim.

† The whole of this argument depends on the degree of decay, which it is necessary to allot to the Grecian vessels. Mr. Bryant maintains that they were totally useless at the time, and also irreparable, as he cannot suppose that the Greeks could sail back in them. Agamemnon on the contrary asserts only that they were decayed in their timbers and rigging, but employs them afterwards to return. Can Mr. Bryant prove the impossibility of Agamemnon's being right, and that he did not repair them for the purpose of returning?

the shipping of the Greeks must, by a ten years anchorage, have been rendered totally unfit for service. Agamemnon, who mentions the decay of their rigging, confesses that he had lost a number of men during the siege, and yet no mention is made of recruits. We must remember that the Iliad only records the events of a few months, so that Homer's silence on these subjects proves literally nothing relative to the rest of the time during which the siege is said to have lasted.* We know that the shipping was constantly employed along the coast, and that coast abounds every where with materials fit for repairing a fleet, particularly the lower parts of Mount Ida. † Is it necessary to suppose that the ships were never repaired, because they are never mentioned as undergoing that operation during the time the army were more immediately engaged in the siege, that is to say, for a few months of the tenth year? At the time to which Agamemnon alludes, the rigging might want repairing; we suppose before they failed it was repaired. From the quotation, ‡ which Mr. Bryant gives at the end of this chapter, he infers that Menelaus used the same ships for eight years after the destruction of Troy. Homer's words are *ἐν νηυσὶ* *in ships*, and whether they were never repaired or

N O T E S.

* Hom. Il. l. ix. p 325.

† The ships of Æneas were constructed from the woods of Ida. Virgil. *Æn.* l. iii. v. 6.—
l. xi. 80.

‡ Such a detail of the rigging and repairs would hardly be found now in Lloyd's list, though professedly a nautical Journal. Is an Epic Poem a verified Newspaper?

Odyss. l. iv. ver. 81, 82. ——— Ἡ γὰρ πολλὰ παθὼν καὶ πολλὰ ἐπαληθεύς.

Ἡ γαργύμην ἐν νηυσὶ καὶ ὀγδοάτῳ ἔτει ἦλθον.

In this passage I can find not one word that proves what ships Menelaus possessed, or how they had been built, or how often repaired. That he brought his wealth to Greece "in ships," is all that is said, and without a very curious inland march, I do not see how he could carry it thither any other way.

rebuilt

rebuilt is a subject on which he is totally silent. There are many sea boats in England whose duration has been greater than that of any of their vessels. The other objection of their not being recruited is equally founded on Homer's silence. We read however of the recruits brought afterwards by Pyrrhus; and allowing the argument in its fullest extent, it will only prove that the army must have been greatly weakened before the tenth year. This is exactly what is recorded of them, and they were so dispirited that they were repeatedly on the point of abandoning the siege; and Troy at last fell only by a well-timed stratagem.

Homer's silence no proof that there was little Correspondence between Greece and the army. †

We now come to another argument drawn also chiefly from the silence of Homer. We do not find, it is true, any mention of a regular correspondence, which was owing to the circumstances of the times; but that there was no intercourse at all cannot be inferred from Homer's not having recorded it. From different accidents they might sometimes not hear from Greece for a considerable time, and thus * Achilles is very naturally made to express a concern about his absent friends whose fate he was little acquainted with. Penelope was still farther separated from Ulysses, (whose ten years voyage is recorded) by the stormy sea which washes the southern coasts of the Peloponnesus, a sea which long continued to be thought dangerous, even when navigation was in a more advanced state. The private conduct of some of the Ladies during the absence of their husbands, and the domestic dissensions which agitated their courts long before the tenth year, will account for the communication not being very solicitously kept up.

N O T E S.

† On the little correspondence of Greece with the army. BRV. p. 27.

* That Achilles had some intelligence appears from his own speech, quoted in Mr. Bryant, p. 28. Ζῶειν μὲν ἔτι Φασὶ Μενότιον, &c. they say that Menætiüs is alive, &c. Hom. Il. xvi. v. 14.

The next arguments against the Trojan war are inferred from the age of Helen at that time. They turn upon a chronology given by Scaliger, Petavius and Clemens Alexandrinus.† On this chronology, however, says Mr. Bryant, I place not the least trust; and indeed in his first chapter he had fixed the Olympiads as the earliest æra of all Grecian history, which cannot be supposed subsequent to accurate chronology, though it is easy to suppose the reverse. All inferences, therefore, drawn from such grounds, are inadmissible, and the objection is answered. Many inconsistent accounts are given of the heroic ages, which these chronologers have in vain endeavoured to reconcile; but they no where affect the uniform consistency of Homer, who scarce mentions one of the accounts here alluded to, and the existence of Troy, as far as it rests on his authority, is unshaken by the argument.

No inferences to be drawn from a chronology acknowledged imperfect.*

|| The story of the covenant entered into by the lovers of Helen
G is

Lovers of Helen unnoticed by Homer.†

NOTES.

* Inferences made from the age of Helen. BRY. p. 29.

† The most grave and judicious historians and other writers of antiquity have, it is true, endeavoured in vain to establish the chronology of the fall of Troy; but though the difficulties attending on such an effort may be accounted for by the uncertainty of these early dates, yet this defect would be a most extraordinary reason for abolishing all faith in the event, of which the existence being acknowledged has actuated the wisest men to aim at ascertaining the time when it took place. Besides those writers so often mentioned in this work, we find this epoch made use of repeatedly by very literary men. Eratosthenes of Cyrene, invited from Athens to Egypt by Ptolemy Euergetes, completed an imperfect series of *Ægyptian Kings* in Greek “et sui Thebanorum regum laterculi terminum ad Trojæ ἀλωσιν posuit, P. p. 3. v. 249.” Dicæarchus Messenius was a hearer of Aristotle, “ille *Ægyptiaca tempora tractavit*, Dicæarchus etiam in animo habuit ad Excidium Ilii calculum ponere.” The Arundel marbles, of which the authority is defended by Sir John Masham, (p. 15.) give us the date of the time ἀφ’ ἧς ἔτελεύτα ἡλω. The Chronographum of Thrasyllus, as preserved in Clemens Alexandrinus, assumes the fall of Troy as an epoch. This ancient writer as well as Clemens Alexandrinus acquiesces in the truth of the tale of Troy. Clemens. Stromata. l. i. p. 335. Sir John Masham, p. 295.

‡ On the lovers and suitors of Helen. BRY. p. 32.

|| Mr. Bryant asserts Homer to have been acquainted with the improbable story of Helen’s rival lovers, and quotes a line from the Iliad;

is no where mentioned in Homer, and is I believe unnoticed by the very early authors. It is one of those fables engrafted on the history of a remarkable event by after ages ; and if it proves any thing at all, it corroborates the fact, by shewing that there were *traditions relative to it which were not transcribed from Homer, and consequently that the original foundation of the story does not arise merely from his imagination. The remainder of the argument, which rests upon a chronological calculation of the ages of Helen's lovers, is for that reason defective, since I have already mentioned how little we are acquainted with the chronology of this early æra.

Inland situation of
Arcadia considered.

† Mr. Bryant draws his next objection from the inland situation of the Arcadians. Homer tells us, it is true, that their ships were procured for them by Agamemnon, but does not tell us who taught them to row, steer, and manage the sails. Hence concluding that nobody did teach them, he finds it difficult to account for their getting to Troy ; he allows at the same time that they had ten years preparation, and observes that they could have no room for supernumeraries since there was the full complement of their own people, for which assertion he quotes a line from the Iliad.‡ I have already cautioned the English reader against Mr. Bryant's

N O T E S.

Πᾶ δὴ συνθεσίου τε καὶ ὅρκια βήσεται ἡμῖν ;

"In what will our Engagements and Oaths terminate ?" Hom. Il. l. ii. v. 339.

This line is interpreted by the Scholiast as alluding to that event, but the obvious allusion is, I think, to the general league formed at Aulis, and not to any prior confederacy.

* For some of these traditions, See Pausanias, l. iii. p. 262.

† Of the Arcadian Allies. Bry. p. 34.

1 ————— πολέες δ' ἐν νηὶ ἐκάσῃ

Ἀρκάδες ἄνδρες ἑσθαινον ἐπιστάμενοι πολεμίου. Hom. Il. ii. 610.

Bryant's quotations ; I will translate this line for his benefit :
" In each ship there went many Arcadians skilled in war." Whether these Arcadians had other sailors on board or not the quotation cannot prove, though an inattentive reader seeing a Greek line so boldly adduced, might easily take the assertion for granted. With such small vessels as depended chiefly on rowing, and with such simple rigging as their vessels had, it required no great naval skill to manage them ; and if the previous knowledge of the Arcadians was so little, we may suppose them mixt with a few seamen from the other ships, and reflect what a great proportion of landmen are sometimes on board our own fleet at this day.

* Homer aware that no Foss or Rampart existed in his time in the plain of Troy, accounts for the destruction of this work of the Grecians by a miraculous intervention of Jupiter, Neptune, and Apollo. Jupiter he says poured down incessant rains, whilst Neptune and Apollo, directed against it the weight of all the rivers of Ida, whose force perhaps swollen with showers, and collected in the Hellespont, he supposed was the cause of the inundation that overwhelmed the rampart. Now had such a foss and rampart existed, Mr. Bryant is of opinion that no time could destroy it, and that therefore this was only an artifice of the poet to reconcile his story to the actual appearance of the plain. There are many fosses and ramparts in our island which will probably remain for ever. That these works are sometimes very durable I am ready to grant, but the argument is whether they are never destroyed, for if I can bring one example of an encampment mentioned in ancient authors, which has been since obliterated, it

The Foss and Rampart such as to be easily obliterated.

N O T E.

* Concerning the Foss and Rampart. BRY. p. 35.

will

will be impossible for Mr. Bryant to shew why that of the Grecians should not have shared the same fate.

Let us however consider the nature of the Grecian Camp. It is defended by a wall and a ditch; between these there was some space, since the Trojans having passed the ditch carry on an obstinate battle before the wall in the 12th book.* Of the size of each we shall there find also a very sufficient intimation: When the Trojans came to it they stopped, for, says he, "it was *not easy* to leap over it; and there was a difficulty in passing through it, since the sides were very steep, and the upper part fenced with palisadoes." Nay more, we find that Hector actually did leap over it, and Patroclus afterwards.† Ditch, rampart, and palisadoes were then within the compass of a desperate leap, and as such much less considerable than the Saxon remains in this island, which have proved so durable. The size of the wall we may discover also from another part of the same book, where we find that Sarpedon approaches it, "and seizing the battlement with a strong hand drags it down; it falls, and a breach is thus made in the wall."‡ The height of it was, we see, little more than that of a man, and the strength of it certainly not such as to resist long the attacks of time. We cannot indeed suppose it very considerable, as we find it only undertaken by the Grecians during the absence of Achilles, || and that it was the work of one single day. I will add that the extreme marshiness of the mouth of the Scamander, during winter, would account for the destruction of a much greater work. The manner in which the rampart was destroyed is a subject also of some animadversion. Homer's gods di-

N O T E.

* Hom. Il. l. xii. ver. 53. and seq.—† Hom. Il. l. xvi. ver. 368, 380.—‡ Hom. Il. l. xii. ver. 397. and seq.—|| Hom. Il. l. vii. ver. 433, 465.

rect against it the force of many rivers which flow in different directions. As all these rivers however flow either into the Propontis or Hellespont, above the Rhætean, they may perhaps by Homer be represented as co-operating with the Scamander in causing an inundation at its mouth. At all events the point here only tends to define the power of Homer's gods, to which I certainly am not competent ; but should the whole story be as false as Mr. Bryant wishes to prove it, and should the rampart only be introduced to vary the monotony of Homer's Epic Battles, the historical fact of Greece arming against and taking Troy, in short the whole ground-work of the poem would still remain unimpeached ; though we have (as far as I can see) no reason to make him so liberal a concession.

For some pages Mr. Bryant now considers the situation of Troy and the description of the plain as given us by Homer. As I shall in the second part of this work discuss the topography of the country, more particularly, the reader will there find an answer to his arguments, as well as to every other where he treats of the present and former state of the country. I shall also consider there the attempt which he has in another work made on the ingenious publication of Monsieur Le Chevalier, and where these ideas are more fully detailed. At present I shall confine myself to the charges brought against the Iliad from the nature of the story, and suspend these topographical arguments till I have prepared the reader to feel all their justice.

Mr. Bryant having, as he imagines, completely satisfied us that the history of the Trojan war, as given by Homer and the other Grecian authors, is an absolute fiction, proceeds then to fulfil the promise of his preface* to build up a system of his own ; but as I

N O T E.

* See Bryant's Preface to the Dissertation on the War of Troy. Page 6.

cannot perceive the success of his first attempt to subvert, so whilst the old building remains unshaken, it will not be expected that I should acknowledge the value of his modern edifice. As however the foundations of this latter seem to be rather unstable, so its ruins will serve to prop and repair the cracks and flaws made by time in the venerable original.

Abstract of Mr.
BRYANT'S conjectures
concerning Homer.

Previous to his bringing forward the grand * hypothesis which his whole book rests upon, that the story of Troy was originally from Egypt, Mr. Bryant paves the way for its reception by a conjecture concerning the life and writings of Homer. He accordingly supposes that Homer was of a Grecian family which had long resided in Egypt and was in some degree allied to the Egyptians, this family by a second migration came and settled in Greece, bringing with them many traditions and many rites of the country whence they came. These traditions then according to him were the ground-work of the Iliad, in which he only substituted Greek derivative names for Egyptian ones. *He was moreover a great traveller—curious—feeling—gloomy—and superstitious.*†—Many of his histories have an immediate reference to Egyptian customs. Of these Mr. Bryant concludes his chapter by giving some instances.

Homer's knowledge
of Egyptian customs
no proof of Mr.
BRYANT'S conjectures
concerning him.

That Homer was well acquainted with Egypt certainly appears from some of these passages, unless we suppose them founded on traditions and customs which had come from thence before his

N O T E S.

* Conjectures concerning the two Poems, the Iliad and Odyssey, and concerning the Author.
BRYANT, p. 53.

† See BRYANT, p. 54.

time,

time, and were already naturalized in Greece. His extensive travels might lead him into Egypt, where he may have become acquainted with the sacred mysteries of that superstitious people. These he transposed as ornaments to his work. Yet the truth is, that except the character which he has stamped of his own mind in his two immortal poems, our knowledge concerning him is nothing but conjecture. What Mr. Bryant says of his life therefore in this chapter * farther than conjecture, is of no weight ; notwithstanding his well known erudition, his authority on this subject is on a level with that of the most ignorant. Let us grant however that Homer's family was originally from Egypt, it is evident that the Greeks too who were in great part from Egypt, and who had borrowed much of their religion from that country, were probably at this time close imitators of their models, and had retained many Egyptian customs which were afterwards forgotten. Of these the aversion to fish was probably one ; the deification of the nine Muses another ; the title of "Shepherds of the † People" it is possible might be a third ; but it is also possible that many of these customs were imported into Greece at its first colonization, and that Homer might notice them without any reference to the Egyptians. In whatever point of view however we consider these stories we shall find they stand merely as unimportant ornamental circumstances

N O T E S.

* Those who wish to be convinced how many various and contradictory accounts have been given us of Homer's Biography, will find them recorded in the ingenious Essay on the Life and Writings of Homer, affixed to Pope's translation of the Iliad. The contradictions objected to in the story here discussed are trifling in the comparison. Did Homer therefore never exist ?

† "The Lord is my Shepherd." "Give ear, oh ! Shepherd of Israel," are terms found in the sacred writings ; the figure and idea conveyed, both there and here are obvious enough to have occurred both to David and Homer, without any reference to the Shepherd Kings of Egypt ; also Ezek. xxxiv. 23. and many other passages of the same import throughout the Scriptures.

in the Iliad,* and it is much easier to suppose these introduced from Egypt to embellish a Grecian story, than to believe that they are the only pure original parts of so complicated a structure.

Ancient accounts
of Homer too various
and uncertain to be
dwelt upon.

† Many writers quoted by Tatian and Clemens Alexandrinus were of opinion that Homer was an Egyptian. Ptolomy Hephestion, an author quoted by Photius, tells us that a woman of Memphis named Phantasia, composed an account of the Trojan war before Homer, and an Odyssey; that these books were deposited at Memphis, and that Homer obtained a copy of these histories from Phanites, a Scribe, and hence composed his poems. The ancient accounts concerning Homer are so uncertain and contradictory that no satisfactory answer can be made to those who admit the obscure opinions quoted by Tatian and Clemens. For a more detailed account of these inconsistent fables I would wish to refer the reader to the perusal of an ingenious Essay quoted by Mr. Bryant, and prefixed to Pope's Version of Homer. Ptolomy's story, and several others of the same nature are there treated with contempt, and the author makes a reflection which may be somewhat to the purpose here, that "it is an odd and contradictory industry in man which raises up the names of obscure works to persuade us that the most beautiful poem of the ancients was taken out of them. A beggar may be content to patch up his garment with what the world throws away, but it is never to be imagined an Emperor would make his robes of them."

N O T E S.

* I do not at all see the necessity of this supposition, but I make it in order to put the argument used in what may be deemed the fairest light, and to shew that no inference follows, even if we allow the premises assumed.

† Farther account of Homer and his connections with Egypt. BRYANT, p. 57.

Such,

Such, however, Mr. Bryant contends are the robes of Homer. Since Ptolomy appears to have been intimately acquainted with all the circumstances of this Plagiary, we must admit his authority without reserve, or reject it entirely as a mistaken notion; according to his account the writings of the Memphian Priests treated of a war of *Ilium*, and an *Odyssea*. What hitherto undiscovered power of etymology can transfer *Ilium* or *Odysseus* into Egypt? We cannot but conclude that if the Egyptian Phantasia wrote at all, she wrote upon a Grecian story. The improbability of this circumstance is singly sufficient to invalidate the account of Ptolomy.

Every Lexicon will inform us that Phantasia *φαντασία* is a Greek word derived from “*φαίνω*, appareo;” but Mr. Bryant diving into all the depths of Coptic lore, finds the word Hant, or Hont, a Priest; then, by a national prefix, forms it into P’Hant, and he supposes that of the generic name of a Priests, the Greeks made the individual one of Phantasia, or probably of P’Hant-Isis, the Priests of Isis, and on the faith of such an etymology does he build his conjectures. If the reader has enough of this etymological enthusiasm to see the immediate connection between Phantasia and P’Hant-Isis, argument will be useless, I can only remind him, that there is no language upon earth which will not furnish etymologies equally close to support any absurdity * that the mind of man can invent.

Accounts of Phantasia of Memphis highly improbable.

Daphne of Thebes is next brought forward, an Authorefs mentioned in Diodorus Siculus, and we are told that Homer borrowed

Daphne of Thebes in Bœotia.

N O T E.

* See Swift on the Antiquity of the English language.—“*Si parva liceat componere magnis.*”

much of his story from her; that “by Thebes was not meant Thebes in Bœotia, but Θηβαι Αιγυπτιοι εκατομπολοι* Egyptian Thebes with its hundred gates.” The passage alluded to in Diodorus however, expressly contradicts the whole of this assertion; it is as follows, “The † Epigoni after plundering the city of Thebes, consecrated Daphne, the daughter of Tiresias, to the Priesthood of Delphos.”—“The genius of the girl was wonderful, and she assisted in verifying many of the oracles with extraordinary success. From her the Poet Homer borrowed many verses to adorn his works.” It is indeed very probable, that beautiful passages, and poetical expressions might be transposed by Homer into his book, but it is not equally easy to imagine, that the versified responses of the Pythian Apollo were the originals of the Iliad and Odyssey, or even of the battle of the frogs and mice. But at all events, where is the connexion between Daphne and Egypt? The name of Thebes is found there, but it will be a wonderful effort of etymology that can displace Tiresias, the Epigoni, and Delphos, and at one sweep establish them all on the banks of the Nile. We may therefore justly doubt the apparently candid *indifference* which Mr. Bryant avows on this subject, since he could not be ignorant of the context and tendency of the passage he has thus brought forward. Instead of claiming the rights of neutrality, he ought therefore to have owned himself the ingenuous and determined supporter of a favorite hypothesis, and boldly to have avowed his intention in the words of the poet: “Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.”

N O T E S.

* I cannot perceive the reason for inserting here this short Greek passage, unless to insinuate that it formed a part of Diodorus's text; at least, such is the impression it is calculated to produce on an unguarded reader.

† Diodorus Siculus, l. iv. p. 269.

Mr.

The next authority quoted is an epitaph from the Greek Anthologia, asserting that Homer was a native of Thebes in Egypt, but our information concerning his birth is contradicted by so many different histories, that they only tend to prove the complete ignorance of the ancients respecting him. "Strabo and Demetrius of Scepsis, *both searched* he says, and found no traces of a City of Troy in Phrygia." *Strabo, it is true, related what he heard from Demetrius of Scepsis, but there are very good grounds for believing that he did not *search* himself, and indeed that he never was in the Troad. Notwithstanding however the ill success of his supposed search, Strabo was so firmly persuaded of the veracity of Homer that he every where quotes his authority, and a great part of his book is little more than a commentary on the Poet. "Yet" says Mr. Bryant "he found a Troy † in Egypt, a few miles below Memphis, and gives us a very accurate description of its situation." We shall soon examine the justness of the conclusion which he endeavours to draw from this circumstance; in the mean time I would wish to fix the attention of the reader upon the manner in which he has amplified this interesting discovery. He quotes the passage from Strabo, ‡ and sets out in his translation of it, by making Troy *a town*, which in the original is *κωμην*, a *village*.§ In the next page he calls it *a City* in Arabia, then proves it

N O T E S.

* If the Reader wishes to know my reasons for supposing Strabo never to have been in the Troad, he will find them detailed in the second part of this work.

† The bare name of Troy being found in Egypt, is no more a proof of its not existing in Phrygia, than the names of the Egyptian Thebes, and Babylon are of the non-existence of the Bæotian, or Assyrian metropolis: But Ilium, Ida, Dardania, Gargara, &c. have unfortunately no duplicates on the Banks of the Nile.

‡ Strabo l. xvii. p. 1162. Strabo, however, found neither Ilium nor Ida in Egypt.

§ Bryant, page 60.

such

such by a quotation from Stephanus. It may be observed that here we have no translation, but in fact the quotation will not bear this construction; the words of it are: "*There is also a Troy in Egypt*;"* and surely this does not prove either the size or nature of the place. In the next page he slightly mentions a passage of Diodorus concerning it, and then amplifies the power of this imaginary City, by making it the key to Egypt, Eastward; and lastly, asserts it to have been the same as the fortress Babylon, though Strabo, by a mistake, makes them different; for which contradiction of Strabo he brings no contrary authority, or any one semblance of an argument.†

It must be observed that the object of Mr. Bryant, in this part of his work, was to prove that this Egyptian Troy was too considerable to have been founded, as Strabo tells us, by the Trojan captives, who were carried thither by Menelaus, for says he, "who can possibly believe that a City in Arabia was built, or a colony founded there by Trojan captives?" but if this Troy was only a village, and if there were also other instances of towns being founded by captives, the objection will be answered. Let us turn once more to Diodorus:‡ In the very sentence before that which Mr. Bryant quotes, we shall find the following account of the Egyptian Babylon.§ "Of the Egyptian captives, some taken in Babylonia revolted against the Government, not being able to bear the hardships of the public works. These seizing on a fortified castle near

N O T E S.

* Εστὶ καὶ τῆς Αἰγυπτῆς Τροία. See BRYANT, p. 61—2.

† Bryant, page 62—3.—‡ Diodorus Seculus, l. i. page 52.

§ Babylon was found in Egypt, the Asiatic Babylon is now as much obliterated as the Asiatic Troy; was it therefore equally a fiction? if Mr. Bryant is consistent he must think it so.

the river, made war on the Egyptians, and laid waste the adjoining country, but at last an amnesty being granted them, they colonised that place which from their native country they have called Babylon." From a similar cause, they say, that Troy which still exists near the Nile, received its name. For Menelaus returning from Ilium with many captives was driven to Egypt. Here the Trojans revolting from them, seized a certain post and combated until their security being established, they founded a town to which they gave the name of their native city. We see then from this curious account that Diodorus every where confirms the testimony of Strabo, that Babylon was by no means the same city as Troy, and that it is itself an instance of a considerable place founded under the very same circumstances. Were there no other towns founded by fugitives? and were Carthage and Magna Græcia, Ionia, Æolia, and Doris, equally the offspring of fable? Certainly, they whose attachment to a system is not strong enough to make them set aside positive facts, must acknowledge that Strabo's story is at least more likely than Mr. Bryant's, as it is supported by the concurrent testimony of other respectable writers. The whole amounts then to no more than this, in Strabo's time there was a village called Troy in Egypt, which Diodorus supposed to have been formerly more considerable, and which both of them agree was built by the Trojan captives, carried thither by Menelaus. The existence of this village, furnishes Mr. Bryant with another curious conjecture in support of his hypothesis.

* There had been, Mr. Bryant "imagines,†" in ancient times

N O T E S.

* Concerning a war of Troy in Egypt and of Memnon the Æthiopian. Bryant, p. 62.

† Bryant, p. 62. The word, "imagine," is Mr. Bryant's own; what a weak basis is imagination for so bold and lofty a superstructure?

A conjecture of Mr. BRYANT's unsupported either by argument or authority, considered.

some great war in Egypt and a powerful contest about this *particular place*. As far as this conjecture rests on the antiquity and strength of this Egyptian fortrefs, it is partly answered in the last chapter ; but Memnon, the Æthiopian, came as an auxiliary to Troy, and his introduction, which is extraordinary if we place the theatre of the war in Phrygia, is consistent with probability if we place it in Egypt. The upper regions of Egypt, Mr. Bryant observes, were particularly called Æthiopia. There were however several other nations called Æthiopians, of which he enumerates four, and of which a very detailed account may be found in Diodorus. Homer describes them as inhabiting the extremities both of the Eastern and Western world ; and Diodorus will enable us to ascertain from which of these Memnon came, who he was supposed to be, and what were his connexions with Troy. “ Tithonus, the brother of Priam, proceeded with an army Eastward, through Asia, as far as Æthiopia, from whence arose the story of Memnon, his son, being born of Aurora, who was afterwards killed by Achilles, when he was serving as an auxiliary to the Trojans.”* Now it will be observed that Memnon, the Son of the Morning, came from the provinces of Eastern Asia ; a residence much more suited to the morning than the Southern sands of Upper Egypt. His connexion with Troy in Phrygia is accounted for, since he was the son of Tithonus, possibly by an Æthiopian mother ; but it will be more difficult for Mr. Bryant to render this story consistent with the idea of a war in Egypt, since that country is full as far removed as Phrygia from the Eastern residence of Memnon and Tithonus ; and it is much easier to imagine that Memnon

N O T E.

* Diodorus. B. iv. p. 319.

came from the East to Troy, a nephew, and auxiliary to Priam, than to refer him, together with all the other heroes of Greece and Asia to the distant scene where Mr. Bryant conjectures the story to have originated. If we cannot suppose that Memnon travelled from Æthiopia into Phrygia, can we believe that the rest of the Trojan auxiliaries travelled from Asia into Egypt? but if Mr. Bryant denies the fact, and attributes the whole of the story to Homer's imagination, he must allow that this circumstance of Memnon may be equally imaginary, and in that case the rest of the story is consistent even according to his ideas; but the tradition relative to Tithonus which I have quoted from Diodorus, shews that the story did not wholly rest on Homer's authority, and vindicates him from the charge of inconsistency in relating what was probably the popular story of these early ages.

In the next chapter * Mr. Bryant sets out by recapitulating some arguments which we have already treated of, particularly that there were traditions and writings concerning a Trojan war previous to the Iliad and Odyssey. He observes that writers differ greatly about the time of Homer's birth, and he is therefore inclined to suppose that he is by no means of that antiquity to which he has been generally raised. Writers who have stated the supposed æra of Troy, introduce him afterwards at various intervals, according to their caprice, or their imperfect information; thus some state this interval to have been no more than eighty years, whilst some advance it to five hundred. Writers differ therefore extremely about the time of Homer, and no less about the place

Extreme uncertainty concerning both the æra and birth place of Homer.

N O T E.

* Ancient traditions concerning a war of Troy. Bryant, p. 64.

of his nativity. I must however observe that this extreme uncertainty about the æra of Homer entirely destroys the possibility of proving what writers did really treat of this subject before him, since it is not at all known when he existed. It is fortunate that his poems having come down to us, we are in possession of proofs that he really did exist, since otherwise the inconsistency of the stories related of him, would in all probability have induced Mr. Bryant by a similarity of reasoning to persuade us that the Poet as well as his Troy was a fiction of the ancients.

Enumeration of the
authors who preceded
Homer, considered.

Mr. Bryant however insists farther, that at whatever time Homer lived there were persons before him who had written upon the same subject. He once more mentions Daphne of Thebes, stiled the Sibyl, and Phantasia of Memphis. But Daphne was of Thebes in Bœotia, and did not write at all on this subject. Diodorus who is the only author that mentions her, and from whom Mr. Bryant quotes, informs us that she versified the Oracles at Delphos, with wonderful genius, and * that from her, Homer borrowed many verses to adorn his works. A poet may borrow words and verses, and by no means write upon the same subject as the poet whom he plunders, neither can we easily suppose the versified responses of the Pythian Apollo to have been the groundwork of Homer's Epic story. This lady then was neither an Egyptian nor an Epic poetess.—Phantasia of Memphis, appears from her name to have had but little pretensions to Egyptian extraction, and she wrote concerning a war of Ilium and an Odyssæa when certainly neither

N O T E.

* This account of Daphne and Phantasia is mere repetition, (see page 33.) but the tautology is not to be ascribed to me. Where the same arguments are twice brought forward, the same answer is twice required.

Ilium nor Odysseus, (Ulysses) were transferable to Egypt. The other writers on the Ilian war, prior to Homer, were Sisyphus Cous, an author mentioned by Tzetzes and Johan. Malala; Syagrius mentioned by Ælian,* and a woman called Helena, mentioned by Ptolomy Hephæstion as quoted by Photius. The very existence of these writers is extremely dubious, we know neither the time in which they wrote, nor the part of Greece in which they lived; how then are we to determine their priority to Homer? Are † Ælian, Ptolomy, and Photius, to decide a question that carries us back to high antiquity by their unsupported assertion? But what use will Mr. Bryant make of this, even if we grant his argument? Did any of these Authors mention a war of Troy in Egypt? Or has any one of the critics and grammarians through whose obscure pages their names and scraps have been transfused, informed us they had done so? No; if they wrote at all, their writings confirm and accord with Homer, at least so we must continue to believe, till Mr. Bryant, from his copious fund of recondite literature, shall produce a passage from at least one ancient author, which points Egypt out as the theatre of the Trojan war.

Till then we must suppose that the Grecian authors, prior to Homer, wrote upon a Grecian story, and what is still more extra-

Aburdity arising
from Mr. BRYANT'S
supposition.

N O T E S.

* The words of Ælian concerning this Syagrius are *ὡς λέγεται ὅτι τρωϊκὸν πόλεμον πρῶτος ᾔσται*, and Mr. Bryant by writing *ὡς πρῶτος τὸν τρωϊκὸν ᾔσε πόλεμον*, makes Ælian responsible for an assertion, which the author himself only mentions as a prevalent tradition. The reader will have already found specimens in Mr. Bryant of this mode of quoting which I am sorry to observe is extremely unfair.

† If we allow the existence of these writers, Homer will stand upon very high authority, they were more ancient than him, and filled up by authentic records the interval of time between the events of the Iliad and his work.

L

ordinary,

ordinary, that Phantasia of Memphis celebrated the war of Ilium and the wanderings of Òdyffeus; an absurdity, which, so far from being removed by transferring the story to Egypt, will be made ten times stronger, as in that case Syagrius, Sisyphus, Helen, and Homer, were just as absurdly employed in celebrating a transaction totally foreign to their country. Therefore assuming the antiquity and the real existence of all these authors, the story of the Phrygian war acquires a stronger degree of authority: These writers afford a testimony still stronger than that of Homer, as being more ancient, and since they coincide with him. I leave it to the reader to draw the inference.

Homer, neither the
Inventor, nor the
Transcriber of a false-
hood.

Mr. Bryant now says, “ that * Homer borrowed his account is manifest, though it is not so clear to whom he was indebted for it.” While I contend for the historical truth of the story, it is very far from my purpose to prove that he invented it. Many of the accounts transmitted differ widely from Homer; to the list Mr. Bryant gives one still more numerous might be added, we might quote from † Herodotus the traditions of Asia concerning Troy as well as those of Egypt, and I would then call upon Mr. Bryant even from the traditions of his favourite country, to bring one passage out of all this contradictory evidence which tends to remove Ilium out of Phrygia, or to make the Troja of Egypt the Ilium of Homer.‡ What then is the inference which common-sense points out to us; that the articles in which these variable testimonies

N O T E S.

* Concerning the different accounts transmitted. Bryant, p. 66.

† Herodotus, l. i. p. 3.

‡ As the inference here drawn from the inconsistency of the ancient accounts is in effect the same which I deduce from the accurate and uniform consistency of Homer, I may appear to draw the same conclusion from contrary premises. To obviate such an objection I will remind the reader
that

testimonies agree are indisputable facts, whilst those in which they differ are the strongest proofs, that instead of transcribing from one another their authors consulted the imperfect though decisive testimony of general tradition. As Mr. Bryant himself has made use of this very mode of reasoning to prove the Mosaic account of the Deluge, and as he has displayed the greatest ingenuity in tracing that fact through the different traditions of different nations, how can he resist this inference? The accounts of the Trojan war are surely not more various than the accounts of the flood; in both cases their variety proves their generality and their generality proves their truth.

Let us however consider who are the authors on whose contradictions he lays so great a stress. Different anecdotes concerning Achilles and Iphigenia are differently related by Eusebius (apud Scaligerum); Ptolemy Heph. apud Photium; Scholia of Apollonius, Philostratus, Tzetzes, Antoninus Liberalis, Hyginus, and the poetical writers Lucretius, Propertius, Euripides and Ovid. Obscurity, comparative modernism or poetical licence form the characteristics of the whole list. The common tradition, or rather the tradition which has become common since Virgil and * Ovid adopted it in their writ-

N O T E S.

that the inconsistency of an author with himself does invalidate the whole of his testimony, but that the variations which always take place when two people relate the same story, have directly the contrary effect, as it shews the sources of each to have been different though concurrent in their general tenor, and therefore implies a more extensive belief of the fact than if they could be supposed to have copied from one another. This mode of arguing is directly the reverse of Mr. Bryant's, who contends that these inconsistent traditions destroy their own credibility, and that the consistency of Homer is a proof of his falsehood.

* I am aware that the death of Astyanax is mentioned prior to this by Euripides. Whatever was his fate, however, it is not celebrated by Homer; who only names the posterity of Æneas as succeeding to the government. His story then is uncontradicted by the early writers, and confirmed by the tradition of the Sceptians.—Eurip. Troad.

ings,

ings, asserts that Aftyanax was killed in Troy, and that Afcenius fled with his father to Italy. But there were writers who affirmed that this account was by no means true. Strabo* seems to have obtained a tradition from the people of Scepsis deriving their origin from these very persons, whose posterity are said to have reigned there a long time; and this is favoured by the evidence of Homer, who says that the family of Æneas should succeed to the rule over the Trojans. Why then, says Mr. Bryant, should not this story be as true as any other? Why indeed? But since it bears every mark of authenticity, since the Scepsians had such a tradition and lived so near the spot, since Homer's prophecy can only be considered as the record of what happened after the fall of Ilium their coincidence is of the greatest consequence. It illustrates and confirms the account of Homer, and puts Mr. Bryant under the disagreeable necessity of transferring not only Troy, but Scepsis, Cebrenia, and Ida, to the borders of the Nile.† There was also a town in the district of Scepsis which bore the name of Æneas; the town exists to this day and retains the name Æné. Every circumstance then in this story whilst it confutes the ornamented relations of subsequent writers, corroborates the simple tale of Homer, whose unembellished account, independent of such corroboration, bears the strongest internal marks of historical veracity.

But according to Mr. Bryant many of these variations in the story existed before the time of Homer, since in his opinion his excellence was such as to preclude any subsequent deviations. That there were traditions coeval with Homer, and

N O T E S.

* Strabo, l. xiii. p. 607.—Homer, ll. xx. ver. 306.

† Strabo, l. xiii. p. 603.

possibly differing from him, is more than probable; yet, even allowing the fact, I do not perceive what inference can be drawn from it in favour of Mr. Bryant, as these varying traditions do not any where appear to have removed Ilium in Phrygia to Troy in Egypt, or to have ever differed from Homer in the essential outline of his story. I own however I am inclined to ascribe many of the wonderful stories we read on this subject to the fertile imagination of after-ages, and the emulative spirit of fiction with which Homer's fame inspired the later poets. But Mr. Bryant attributes this inconsistency to the difference of the times at which the accounts were brought over from Egypt, and their being adopted in various parts of the world. The Greeks he supposes substituted Greek names for Egyptian ones, or at least hellenized them according to their own taste. Does this account for the inconsistency observed? * and if I should allow it to be a difficulty, still will Mr. Bryant say that his system removes it? Upon this supposition we see colonies from Egypt bringing over at different times contradictory traditions relative to a war in Egypt, these traditions assume in Greece a new form, are adorned with Grecian names, are adapted by piecemeal to a real scene in Phrygia in the plain of Ilium, and Ilium is new-named Troy, from a Troy in Egypt to which every one of these stories should again be referred. It is extremely singular that not one of these traditions, however contradictory, should be adapted to any other country but Phrygia, and I would ask how this story was so intimately analogous to Ilium in Phrygia, as to be uniformly referred to that

N O T E.

* I would have it understood that this concession is only made to shew the weakness of Mr. Bryant's argument on his own supposition, since I by no means allow that such inconsistency invalidates the different narrations. On the contrary it is the strongest proof of their truth when they agree. (See note on p. 42.)

spot only, if it really belonged to another? These are arguments which every reader will suggest to himself so immediately, that I wish only to point them out and will not waste his patience by commenting on them.

Inferences from such premises invalidated by the refutation of those premises.

The * inferences are such as his foregoing arguments were intended to prove; that the story of Troy was foreign to Greece, and imported from Egypt. Having so much invalidated the premises, I can hardly join in the conclusion. A further argument which he places here is this—"No genuine history of any country was ever rendered so inconsistent by the natives. Of this there is not one instance upon record." Let us read every passage relative to the heroic ages of Greece. We shall find allegory and fiction perpetually interwoven with truth. Homer alone drew out of obscurity one bright page of their venerable annals, but are we therefore to suppose that all the other names celebrated by poets and historians as the founders or protectors of the Grecian states, were foreign to Greece because their stories are not accurately consistent. It was not till the time of Herodotus that history emerged from her night of fable; but still through that gloom we can distinctly mark a few great events in which different writers agree. As the sources from which they draw their information are evidently not the same, their traditional inconsistencies prove the general facts.

Causes of obscurity in the early parts of Grecian history, considered.

Mr. Bryant then hints at the improbability of the Phrygians, (whom he considers as a totally distinct race from the Greeks) having names that seem to be derived from a Grecian origin. For the present, however, he dismisses this subject, and as he recurs to it with more detail in the subsequent chapters,

N O T E.

* Inferences made from the ancient accounts.

we will there consider this objection in its fullest extent. In the mean-time he objects that Homer seems not to have been intimately acquainted with Phrygia, since the deities he there introduces are not of Asiatic origin, and the gods of Greece are by him substituted in their room. Before we subscribe implicitly to Mr. Bryant's assertion, let us consider the very different language of his earlier works. In the Analysis of Ancient Mythology, we read that, "On * the dispersion of the Cuthites, the Meropes came into Greece; all the Helladians, as well as Ionians, were Meropians. The Trojans also were of this race, and the Poet speaking of the foundation of Troy, mentions it as a City of Meropians, *πολις μεροπων ανθρωπων*, founded by Dardanus. The Dardani were Atlantians, being reputed children of Electra. The Trojans and Mysians were of a different race from the native Phrygians, being of the same language with the people of Hellas and Ionia. The Phrygians were descendants of Japhet and Javan, and possessed the whole country except some districts on the sea coast. As they were of a different race, so they had a different language from the Trojans; but the Grecians and Trojans were of the same family, and are introduced as speaking the same language."

Thus far Mr. Bryant.—"*O si sic omnia.*"—Who were the Trojans of whom he here speaks? Certainly not the inhabitants of a village in Egypt; but a Phrygian nation, of the same language and origin with the Greeks. Why not therefore of the same names and the same religion? If Homer then had adopted the religion of Rhea and the names of Phrygia, which differed entirely from

N O T E.

* Meropes, *μεροπες*, is a common epithet of the Greek writers, and so far from designating a particular race, is every where applied to mankind in general; but this translation of the *πολις μεροπων ανθρωπων*, has its etymological uses in the place where it is applied. Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mythology, vol. iii. p. 435.

those of Troy and Myfia, he would, according to this statement, have betrayed the grossest ignorance. However it is probable that the Phrygians also had a language and a worship, in some respects analogous to those of Greece. On recurring to Strabo we find the following account of them; “ the *Phrygians also being a colony from Thrace brought over from thence their mysteries.” These mysteries, it appears, were the mysteries of Samothrace, in which Rhea, Berecynthia, Attys, and the Dioscuri, were the principal divinities.† We also find afterwards an additional proof of this, for Strabo farther tells us, that there were many Thracian names, common also to Troy. The Scæi were a nation in Thrace, they had also a river Scæus, and a Scæan wall—so in Troy there was a Scæan gate; another Thracian horde were called Xanthii—the river near Troy was Xanthus. The river Arisbus falls into the Hebrus—Arisbe is the name of a Trojan town. Rhesus, a Trojan river, is the name of a Thracian King. When Mr. Bryant afterwards converts at one sweep all the tombs now remaining in Troas into Thracian Barrows, he seems to acknowledge this genealogy. Whether the Thracians migrated from Asia, or the Phrygians from Thrace,

N O T E S.

* Strabo, l. x. p. 471.

† Strabo, l. xiii. p. 590. In confirmation of Mr. Bryant’s account mentioned from the Analysis of Ancient Mythology, I will notice some of the nations of Asia, which are given in ancient authors as of European origin. Mela says, that of the Carians the origin is uncertain, but “ sunt qui Pelasgos existimant.” l. i. c. 16.—The Ciconians were Thracians from the Banks of the Hebrus. The Pæonians were Macedonians. Strabo, p. 323. (498.)

The Paphlagonians were a colony sent from Arcadia, led by a son of Phineus, King of that Country. Statii Theb. viii. 255. Valer. Flacc. iv. 444. In Macedonia from the earliest times we find the names of Alexandros and Philippos, a sure proof either that the language was Greek or their names hellenized by Greek writers; their Kings claimed their descent from Hercules. Dionys. Halicarnass. declares that Troy had a Greek original, p. 27, and 49. The Pelasgi were Arcadians; at least some of them were. Strabo, p. 230, and 620.—They colonised Lesbos and Imbros. Herodot. Terpsich. c. 26.

is of little consequence, they had the same language and religion. What these were in Thrace the fragments of the Thracian Orpheus, Musæus, and Thamyras will sufficiently evince. But these fragments it will be said are not authentic; perhaps they are not, but they are of such an antiquity that the forgery will equally prove the assertion. If Chatterton had discovered Rowley in French, there would have been but little room for controversy. In the list I have just given, Xanthus and Xanthios are undoubtedly names of Greek derivation, therefore all the colonists of this part of the world seem derived from a common stock. That Rhea and the other mystic gods were the deities of Thrace, there is no doubt, from the passages I have quoted, yet we find the * Muses, Libethrides, Bacchus, and more particularly Mars, perfectly naturalised amongst them. The Grecian gods were not therefore introduced here by Homer; but the two nations had an analogous religion. It is true, however, that Homer in the Iliad, "takes no notice of Rhea, Dindymene, Berecynthia, the great mother of the gods, the mighty mother;" But in the nature of these mysteries we shall find the reason of it. This whole worship was mystic, and totally apart, like that at Eleusis, from the every day religion of the uninitiated. The *προεδροι* or affectors of Rhea, who were joined in worship with her are scarcely known by name; even her priests were wrapt in obscurity; the Cabiri, the Curetes, and the Corybantes are names which Strabo and Diodorus in vain attempt to define. The deities of the Synod were so sacred, that their very names were

N O T E.

- * Strabo, l. x. p. 471. "On Thracia's hills the Lord of war
 "Has curbed the fury of his car." GRAY.

N

mystic.

mystic. τὰ δὲ ἱεροκτελεῖσθαι ἐστὶ μυστήρια.* Such were the mysteries of Samothrace, or rather such is all we know of them. Like those of Eleusis they did not furnish out any epic machinery to the poets of Paganism, for it was sacrilege to divulge the secrets of their worship. Homer, therefore, has recourse to the received religion of the country, perhaps of his own country more particularly; but it will be remembered that the Greeks and Romans found their own gods in every country they invaded: Resemblance of attributes alone identified the Zeus, Jupiter, and the German Taranis; Αθηνη, Pallas, and Minerva; Δημήτηρ and Ceres; Αἰδωνεύς and Pluto; Ἡφαιστος, Vulcan and Mulciber; Ἀρτέμις, Diana, and Britomartis; Ἀφροδίτη, Venus, Mylitta, Alitta, and Metra; and a thousand others.† Be therefore the local names of Phrygian gods what they might, a Greek writing to Greeks would adopt the names by which they were worshipped in his own country. But Berecynthia does not preclude Jupiter and her other children, since she was the mother of all the gods who are mentioned; her own character however would not have suited well with a field of battle. For the same reason perhaps Homer nowhere mentions Ceres, who was likewise a mystic deity. We find also that though these mysteries were principally observed in Samothrace and Phrygia, yet many nations of the Greeks participated in their celebration. Thus we find the Curetes in Acarnania, Ætolia, and Crete; the Cabiri in Lemnos and Imbrus; † and the Greeks with many of the barbarous nations, sent processions (πομπαί) thither in the same manner as to Delos. It seems therefore probable from these circumstances, that the religion

N O T E S.

* Strabo, l. x. p. 473. Virg. Æn. l. v. 784.

† Strabo l. x. p. 471, and seq.

‡ See Vincent's Voyage of Nearchus, p. 477, the note.

of Phrygia was received in Greece, and it is equally probable that the gods of Greece were to be found in Phrygia.

The Phrygians, it is said, laid claim to *high antiquity*, they vied with the Egyptians who allowed their priority; this is told us, says Mr. Bryant, by Herodotus, who also admits their precedence. I will translate the passage referred to. “The * Egyptians, before the reign of Psammetichus, esteemed themselves the most ancient race of human kind; but Psammetichus being King, wished to satisfy himself who had really the best claim to antiquity, and since that time they have looked upon the Phrygians as prior to themselves, but they rank themselves before all other nations. For Psammetichus being long unable to invent any way of ascertaining what race of men were really the oldest, thought at length of the following expedient: He gave two children, newly born of poor parents, to a shepherd, ordering him to breed them with his flock, and never to utter any sound of voice before them, but keep them apart in an empty shed; to bring them the goats to nurse them at stated times, and when they left off milk to give them such food as might then be proper. This Psammetichus did, desiring to hear what distinct word would first be spoken by them, after they had grown to the age when they would leave off their inarticulate wailings; and the event also answered his expectation; for, when they were now two years old, both the children, tottering forward when the shepherd opened the door and was coming in to them, cried out *Beccos* and stretched out their hands. The shepherd at first said nothing of what he had heard; but the same word being constantly repeated whenever he attended them, he mentioned it

Phrygian claims to high antiquity considered.

N O T E.

* Herodotus l. ii. c. 2.

to

to his master, who ordered him to bring the children before him. Pſammetichus hearing this himſelf, asked what nation called any thing by the name of *Beccos*, and found upon inquiry that it was the Phrygian name for bread. In conſideration of this circumſtance, therefore, the Egyptians acknowledge the Phrygians to be a more ancient race; theſe facts I heard from the prieſts of Vulcan at Memphis.” This is all that Herodotus ſays on the ſubject, and the reader might wiſh in vain for clearer proof of the antiquity of Phrygia.

The name and language of Greece not improbably introduced into Aſia before Homer.

But amidſt all this confuſion and intermixture of nations, a very conſiderable claſs of them is acknowledged by Mr. Bryant * himſelf, as being of Grecian race. Their names therefore were not introduced into Phrygia by Homer. Of theſe Mr. Bryant himſelf reckons the Trojans, Myſians, and other inhabitants of the coaſt. All arguments drawn from their names are therefore answered by his own confeſſion. Had Homer indeed given them other denominations we ſhould then have been juſtified in drawing the ſame concluſion with Mr. Bryant. But the Phrygians are ſometimes mentioned as ſeparate from the Trojans: in the catalogue of the Trojan allies † they are led from the diſtant Aſcania by Phorcys and Aſcanius, whoſe names are not derived from Greek, and we learn that ſome of the Phrygians ſpoke a different language. A great many of the Trojan names have obviously roots foreign to Greece. Priam, Æneas, Anchifeſ, we in vain ſeek for in that language; but it is true that declinable terminations, according

N O T E S.

* See Analyſis of Ancient Mythology in the place above cited. Vol. iii, p. 435. And alſo of the Pelafgi, Caucones, and Leleges. Vol. iii, 385.

† Bryant l. ii. p. 862.

to the genius of the Greek language, are uniformly added; this is not only excusable, but necessary in a Grecian, whose language depended on its powers of inflexion; and we find it practised by every historian of antiquity.* The names of Persian kings are hellenized in Herodotus, as much as those of the Asiatic heroes are in Homer. As the Carians were *καρχαροφωνοι* or of a barbarous language, a reason is contained in the very epithet for declining to use some at least of their native names; Greek versions of the same import, and certainly Greek terminations would be substituted for them. Thus it is clear that Amphimachus was a Greek name, but Nastes, the other leader, appears to have retained his original appellation, made capable of a Greek inflexion. How can Mr. Bryant say that Homer gave to these nations on the coast of Asia the names that they bore after the Grecians had colonised the † coast, when he himself tells us in another place, that at a period long before this *second* Ionian migration, the people of Troy, Mysia, Ionia, and Hellas, were of the same family? Whether, by Meropes was formerly understood a particular race or not; and however others may doubt his inge-

N O T E S.

* Terminations of this sort are constantly made use of in Greek, even where poetical motives do not require them. The Mithridath, Rehum, Shimshai, Tabeel, and Bishlam of the Canonical Ezra, appear in the Apocryphal Esdras under the names of Mithridates, Rathumos, Semellios, Tabellios, and Belemos. See Ezra, iv. 7, 8, and 1 Esdras, ii. 11. xvi. 30. Are not these names as apparently Grecian as most of those recorded in Homer's catalogue? The radicals of Achilles, Aias, Odysseus, Idomeneus, Merion, and a hundred others, are just as much lost as those of Priam, Æneas, Anchises, &c. The names of many places also, as Kifios, Erymanthos, Pholoe, Corinthos, &c. &c. are not now to be traced to any root in Greek, are they therefore not Grecian? and when we are in the same ignorance with regard to many of the other names, because we know not the radicals of the Asiatic language, are we to conclude that they were not Asiatic, nay more, that they were Greek, because Homer and his countrymen had hellenized them?

† In the places above cited. Vol. iii. p. 385, 435, and other places in the third vol.

nious conjectures on this part of ancient mythology, still against him the argument is conclusive. Instead therefore of cavilling at the Greek appellatives, if Mr. Bryant had taken them to pieces with half his usual etymological talents, I have no doubt but he could have traced them back to any one language he had been pleased to assign.

Homer's general consistency the proof of his truth not of his ingenuity.

"Homer," says Mr. * Bryant, "was engaged in a period of obscurity, and being to adapt his history to another age and a different race of men, he was obliged to render it consistent with the traditions of the people for whom he wrote." Consistency is not a fault in any history, certainly, and whether the history was naturally consistent, or made so by Homer's judgment, it can hardly be brought forward as a proof of its falsehood. "But he has invented names and characters; and made them plausible by anecdotes and genealogies." So plausible indeed, that the nations of Greece and Troy quoted these genealogies as their titles of descent; so plausible that Pericles claimed his descent from Nestor, and was believed at the most learned period of his learned country. If then such names were given as might have existed, and anecdotes and genealogies recorded which might have taken place, who shall contradict Homer and argue from the probability of a fact's being true, that therefore it was false, and the story adapted to the occasion? Is this logical? and would Mr. Bryant allow the inference on any other subject?

"But most of these genealogies ended in a god." Of this Mr. Bryant gives many instances. He had told us however in the page before that Homer was engaged in a period of

N O T E.

* Further considerations concerning names, and likewise of families. Bryant, p. 76.

obscurity,

obscurity, when letters had just been introduced into Greece; yet here he blames him for not possessing the genealogy of his heroes for more than one or two generations. Really if he had given us more it would be a strong proof of his invention, but a bad argument of his veracity, provided the days were in fact as obscure as Mr. Bryant himself supposes them. In those times when a man distinguished himself by an heroic action, he raised his family into notice, perhaps into riches and power. The flattering zeal of a grateful people traced back his origin till their brief tradition was lost in an obscurity which imagination assigned to Beings of superior order. Have we not at this hour, the letter from Olympias to Alexander, gravely assuring him that he was not the son of Jupiter? If such was the folly of the age, even in the refined days of Alexander, can we be surpris'd at the popular stories of great men's genealogies, during "a period of obscurity," in a nation by nature both superstitious and poetical? A poet naturally availed himself of the wild mythology of the times, and peopled his poem with the kindred of his Deities. Such is the conduct of Homer, and such is the conduct of nature. If Homer alone had brought forward the gods some doubt might have arisen, but we find every hero of the times make the same claim to a divine original with those of the Poet: which shews that these celestial pedigrees were not peculiar to Homer, and that his customs and story are only recorded, not invented by him.

To the name and character of Agamemnon, Mr. Bryant next brings forward an objection, which he repeats in a subsequent chapter. * It seems from Homer, that Agamemnon was com-

Objection founded
on the name of Aga-
memnon considered.

N O T E.

* See Bryant. Concerning the heroes who were deified.

mander in chief and king of the “powerful Mycenæ;” but Mr. Bryant says, there is no reason to think Mycenæ was ever a place of such eminence as Homer makes it. He should have shewn, however, that there was sufficient reason to be sure of the contrary, since Homer’s evidence is good till contradicted by an evidence equally positive and equally authentic. The states of Greece were so far from looking upon Homer, as Mr. Bryant does, that we find him quoted by their lawgivers and ambassadors to ascertain differences arising from claims of territory. We find in Plutarch, that when the Athenians and Megarensians made pretensions to the possession of Salamis, the dispute was referred to Sparta. Before their assembly Solon pleaded the rights of his country, and one principal ground of claim were two lines from Homer :

Αἶας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖν' ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας,
Στῆσε δ' ἄγων, ἴν' Ἀθηναίων ἵσαντο φάλαγγες.*

This story is confirmed to us by Demosthenes;† it is alluded to by Aristotle, and D. Laertius is also another transcriber of it. Now if Homer was made an arbiter to decide property in Greece, I see no reason to doubt his evidence with regard to Mycenæ.

But we find other ancient authors believing and confirming that evidence. Strabo‡ gives us the following account of Argos and Mycenæ. “At first,” he says, “Argos was the most powerful, afterwards Mycenæ took the lead, in consequence of the sons of Pelops

N O T E S.

* Hom. Il. l. ii. v. 557.—† Demosth. de fals. legat. p. 332. Aristot. Rhetor. l. i. c. ult.

‡ Strabo, l. viii. p. 372.

leaving Argos to settle there. For all the power devolving on the sons of Atreus, Agamemnon, the elder, being sovereign, his good fortune and courage enlarged his dominions, and added Laconia (or as some read Argolis) to his kingdom. For his brother Menelaus held Lacônia. Agamemnon commanded, therefore, Mycenæ, the district as far as Corinth and Sicyon, and the country which was then called Ionia and Ægialia, and which has in later times been called Achaia. But after the death of Agamemnon and the end of the Trojan war, Mycenæ declined, and that chiefly at the return of the Heraclidæ." A still stronger evidence is furnished in this page by Mr. Bryant himself. "Thucydides" (says his note) "mentions it as a mean place: Μικηναι μικρον νν, but supposes it to have been once of greater repute, for which he gives no reason.*" The passage in Thucydides is however as follows. "Now because *Mycenæ has been a small place*, or if any other town of those times should seem of small importance, let not any one from so deceitful a circumstance conclude that the expedition (to Troy) was less than the poets represent, or than fame has reported it. For if the city of Lacedæmon should be desolated, and only the temples and the foundations of their structures should remain, I conceive that in the lapse of years, it would become very doubtful whether their power had ever equalled their renown. For though they possess two fifths of the Peloponnesus, and govern the whole of it, and are at the head of a great alliance out of it, yet it is clear that they would seem inferior to their fame; since the town is neither compactly built, nor adorned with temples and magnificent edifices; but consists of scattered hamlets *after*

N O T E.

* Bryant, p. 78.—Thucydides, l. i. c. 10.

the early mode of Greece. But if the same desolation should happen to Athens, the power of that City would be thought by posterity to have doubled that which it really possesses. Let us not therefore doubt these histories, and estimate the appearance rather than the strength of ancient towns." This is at full length the passage, a part of which Mr. Bryant has quoted. If Homer's story was plausible enough to satisfy an historian so sagacious as Thucydides, and who was well acquainted with the ancient histories of his own country, I take his acquiescence in the supposed power of Mycenæ to be an infinitely stronger testimony than any unsupported assertion made after a space of above 2000 years, when all the early histories have perished. I have now amply discussed the subject of Mycenæ, with which, if the reader is not satisfied, he will find still more in Pausanias.* When Mr. Bryant asserts, therefore, that its primitive splendor is to be found only in Homer, he should reflect that Homer is *now* the only authority *we* have of those early times; but that Thucydides mentions *Poets* in the plural number, and also *common fame*; so that he had concurrent testimonies, and we have seen the result of his inquiries in the passage above quoted. "But the wide rule given to it is contradicted "by the histories of Corinth and other Cities, as may be inferred "from Plutarch, Strabo, and other writers." The contrary, however, is pretty plainly inferred from the passage of Strabo above quoted, and as Mr. Bryant has not produced one line from any of these writers, I cannot answer the assertion better.

Names of the heroes and of Agamemnon particularly, not borrowed from the provincial deities, or if borrowed no proof against their existence.

"Homer borrows the names of many of his heroes from provincial deities, known in his time, from whence many of the

N O T E.

* Pausan. l. ii. c. 16, 17.

"heroes

“ heroes were afterwards supposed to have their altars ; which in reality were erected to the gods whose names they bore.” Mr. Bryant elsewhere repeats this argument with more detail ; and in its proper place the reader will find it fully, and I hope satisfactorily answered. He here confines himself to the single instance of Agamemnon, and tells us that “ Lycophron* and Clemens Alexandrinus mention altars of Zeus *Αγαμέμνων*, so also we find “ mentioned in Athenagoras.†” Supposing Agamemnon, however, to have been one of the various names or epithets under which Jupiter was honoured, is it not just as probable that it should be given to men by the custom of the times, as that Homer, in violation of every custom, should adopt a name which could not be given to men?—“ Eustathius,” he proceeds, “ quotes also two other “ titles of Jupiter in this very chapter, *ευρυκρείων* and *ευρυμέδων*, having “ wide rule and extensive command.” Admitted ; but Eurycreon and Eurymedon are both used as proper names by the Grecians.‡ In another place Mr. Bryant himself tells us that Lycurgus was only a name of the Sun as worshipped by the Amonites ; and yet we repeatedly find the name of Lycurgus applied to men at different

N O T E S.

* Mr. Bryant here quotes two verses from Lycophron very rightly, (Bryant p. 79) but as they are prophetic of the future dignity of the hero they cannot be construed into a proof that Agamemnon had been previously a title of Jupiter ; besides it appears this title was confined to the district of Sparta. Tzetzes in his comment on this passage, says, “ *Οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἰδεύσαντο Ἀγαμέμνονος Διὸς ἔργον εἰς ἱερὴν Ἰθ' Ἥρωος*. Canter, Meursius, and Potter are of the same opinion, and are quoted by Mr. Bryant himself. V. 335 of Lycophron is of the same import, and tends to prove that he considered the leader of the Grecian host as the person deified under his name.

† The passage from Athenagoras has the same tendency, however perverted by Mr. Bryant. He is actually summing up the names of the heroes and heroines who were afterwards worshipped. *Ὁ μὲν Ἰλιεύς Θεὸν ἔκτορα λέγει, καὶ Ἰὼν Ἑλένην Ἀδράστειαν ἐπισαμένους προσκυνεῖ. ὁ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιος Ἀγαμέμνονα Δία, καὶ Φυλομένην Ἰὼν Τυνδάρεω θυγατέρα. κ.τ.λ.σέβει.* Now if Agamemnon was a name of Jupiter, and distinct from the hero, the introduction of him here is totally foreign to the purpose, and the author sufficiently explains his own meaning by the context.

‡ Bryant's Anal. of Anc. Mythology. L. iii. p. 42.

æras of the Grecian history. Whether Jupiter therefore had the title of Agamemnon or not, literally proves nothing; an analogous argument would lie against every christian name, because the same names are enrolled as saints in a Romish Calendar. Recurring then to his former assertion, as if it were a resulting consequence, he repeats, that "all Homer's account is ideal. No such dominion as that of Mycenæ existed; the supposition is contrary to all ancient history."—What history? Does there exist a single proof of this position? Has Mr. Bryant produced one?

Agamemnon, Menelaus, &c. not necessarily to be traced to the language of Egypt.

It is next asserted* that "Agamemnon was an Egyptian compound, and imported into Greece. It related to the god Memnon, and his worship was brought to Argos and Lacedæmon, by the Danaidæ and Melampodes from Thebes in Egypt. Aga, we are afterwards told, was an ancient title for a leader, and is often compounded in Greek names as Agenor, Agamedes, Agathyrsus, &c." If Aga then be indeed a common Greek compound, why should Agamemnon be ranked as an ideal being rather than Agamedes or the rest? As for the Egyptian conjecture, and the inconsequent inference we here see deduced from it, I will only observe to the reader, that excepting the similarity between the names of Memnon and Agamemnon, there is not the shadow of a foundation for it. But if etymology is to be had recourse to, we have no occasion to translate Agamemnon into Egypt: The name is applied to an extraordinary hero and to Jupiter. In Greek we find *αἰών μινυων*: *valde manens, long remaining*, if applied to the Hero of Troy; *immortal*, if applied to the God. This conjecture like the other proves nothing; it is not however without its use,

N O T E.

* On the purport of the term Agamemnon. Bryant, p. 81.

it may serve by an example to convince my reader that etymological proofs may always be brought on both sides. We are also told that Menestheus, Petes, and Menelaus, were Egyptian compounds. The two first are mentioned in Diodorus, as of Egyptian extraction,* and many of the Greeks, we are informed, did come from Egypt. As for Menelaus, though Menes in Egypt gave his name to a Nome called Men-el-ai, yet it is very possible that Greece might call one of her heroes Menelaus; the similarity no more proves the non-existence of the hero than of the nome. † Menelaus, is a Greek compound too, and I have as good a right to a Greek etymology as Mr. Bryant to an Egyptian one. Will Mr. Bryant deduce also Menepolemus, Menedemus, Menecrates, Menecharmes, &c. all from the Egyptian god Menes? The argument therefore either proves nothing, or, what is of no higher logical value, it proves too much.

Another ‡ difficulty, which with Mr. Bryant is conclusive against the story, is, that all the heroes who are enumerated in the cata-

Catalogue of the Heroes in the second Book of Homer, allusive only to those who survived at that time.

N O T E S.

* Diodorus Sic. l. i. p. 25. Τον γὰρ Πέτην τον πάτερ Μενεσθεως τῷ στρατευσαμένῳ ἐς Τροίαν φανερῶς Αἰγυπτίον υπαρχάντα κ.τ.λ. "That Petes, the father of Menestheus, who commanded at Troy, was evidently a native of Egypt," &c. He adds, however, that he obtained the sovereignty of Athens. "Diodorus, says Mr. Bryant, "is certainly in the right; for Petes is an Egyptian word, and Menestheus a compound of Menes and Theuth. But if Petes emigrated to Athens, and Menestheus commanded at Troy, was it not Troy in Phrygia? In the same passage we find that Petes was called διφυῆς of a double nature, and fabled to be half a man and half a brute; of which the true reason, as assigned by Diodorus, was ὅτι διεῖν πολιτείων μέλασχαν, Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ βαρβάρων. "Because he was a citizen of two different states, one Grecian and one Barbarian." If Petes, therefore, never left Egypt, and Menestheus never saw the war of Troy, how is Diodorus in the right? The names of William the Conqueror and all his followers were French, but they have never been denied to exist in England.

† Menes λαου as Menepolemus from Menos πόλεμου.

‡ Of the chief heroes in the Grecian army and of their extraordinary preservation. Bry. p. 83.

logue are by Homer represented as alive for the most part in the sequel of the Iliad. They are forty-six in number, and their names all recur again; such a preservation is in Mr. Bryant's opinion impossible. How far however is such a stricture to affect the veracity of Homer? In the second book we find the Grecian army in the tenth year of the war drawn up in the plain of the Scamander. Homer* invokes the Muse to enumerate "who were the leaders of the Greeks and the commanders of their forces." *οἵτινες ἡγεμόνες Δαναῶν ἔχοντο καὶ ἡγήσαντο*, "who came" *ὑπο Ἰλίου* "against Troy," *at that time*. He recounts the *Dramatis Personæ* of his own Poem: the leaders who were present in the tenth year of the war, during which alone he details the facts that happened. If he mentions Protefilaus it is because that being the first who was killed, and the leader whose ship was afterwards set on fire, his character had become traditionally remarkable in Greece. Philoctetes who was absent is also introduced, as upon him depended the fate of Troy: but Medon is represented as leading his troops. And thus in the room of those who were dead they had also substituted others who had taken the command; and these together with such chiefs as had survived, are the leaders that are named in the catalogue. This is evident, since Palamedes, who had been killed, is no where mentioned; and therefore many names now unknown may be in the same manner omitted. Supposing 10,000 heroes to have died in the first nine years, what had Homer to do with them, where are they? just where Mr. Bryant requires them to be, either dead or withdrawn from the war, and consequently from the catalogue of the troops and the action of the Iliad.

N O T E.

* Homer II. I. ii.

Another

Another objection hinted at in this chapter, is the name of Protefilaus, which being given, or at least seeming to be given from the event of his death, affords, says Mr. Bryant, a strong intimation that the history is a fable. The word Protefilaus means "the first of the people," as Agefilaus means the leader of the people. Now as Protefilaus was not the first of the people, and as Agefilaus was the leader of his, the argument is much stronger against the Lacedæmonian King than against the Trojan warrior. Granting, however, that the name * was given him after the event, is that a proof that the event never happened? Certainly it is rather a confirmation of it, as being given in commemoration of his bravery.

The name of Protefilaus no ground of just objection to the story related of him.

† Having now gone through the different arguments which the nature of the story suggests to him, Mr. Bryant brings forward the opinions of those writers, who (as he wishes us to believe) *have supported* or forwarded his favourite hypothesis. Dion Chrysostom, whom he chiefly dwells upon, is the first mentioned. But of him hereafter; we have now an earlier authority to discuss. Anaxagoras, the philosopher, who was born about the 70th Olympiad, resided during the latter part of his life at Lampfacus, ‡ within 45 miles of Troy or Ilium ;

Authorities brought forward by Mr. Bryant, too modern or too slight for his purpose.

N O T E S.

* What will posterity think of Philip Egalité, ci-devant Duke of Orleans? If they reason like Mr. Bryant, they must conclude that the name was made in consequence of his Sans Culotism, and therefore that the French Revolution was a fable. "*Dii faciant.*"

† The opinions of some learned persons amongst the ancients concerning both the city and war of Troy. Bryant, p. 86.

‡ Anaxagoras perhaps thought of Homer as Horace did; and considered him as a writer.

"Qui quid fit pulchrum quid turpe, quid utile quid non,

"Planius ac melius Chrysispo & Crantore dicit."

But though moral or physical truths may seem to result from the Iliad, we have no reason to deny the

Ilium ; he first was of opinion that the whole poem was an allegory ; of this we are informed by Phavorinus, as quoted by Diogenes Laertius. Metrodorus also, as we are told by the same author, contributed much to this opinion of Anaxagoras, since he was also the founder of an hypothesis, that the work of the poet was an allegorical representation of natural history. Mr. Bryant, therefore, argues that since Anaxagoras is said to have been the first who suggested the idea, there were others afterwards ; amongst these were Zeno, a philosopher mentioned in Athenæus, and Basil the Great. But it proves more, since it proves that there were none before him. Now when the earliest authority against the existence of Troy can be referred no higher than to the 70th Olympiad,* the first Olympiad of Anaxagoras's life, when he could not be a very voluminous writer, we ought to estimate his authority rather cautiously. The war of Troy is generally supposed to have happened about the year 1183 A. C. the first Olympiad was in the year 776, from hence to the time of Anaxagoras's birth is 280 years more ; this then forms an interval of no less than 687 years. Now as he was the first who doubted the story, this distance of time

N O T E S.

the truth of the narrative that conveys them. Even where allegory is the avowed object of a poem, historical facts have been made the means of presenting it. Spencer's Legend of Temperance, like all his other Legends contains a clear and palpable moral allegory, but it also contains an historical one, and represents the state of Ireland, under the administration of Lord Grey, and the rebellion of Lord Desmond. Now, I would ask whether even in this case the former allegory is destructive of the latter ? So far from it, that they are both perfected. History herself moralizes, and all her lessons are *περί ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης*.

* When Mr. Bryant gives us the date of Anaxagoras's birth, he would have done well to have added that he lived to a considerable old age, and that if ever he resided at Lampfacus, it was not till very late in life, and after the condemnation for impiety, which was passed on him at Athens, had obliged him to leave that city. According to some Authors he never left it, but died there by a suicide.—See Diogen. Laert. l. 2 Segm. 13. He wrote therefore about Troy much later than the 70th Olympiad, and perhaps never was there at all.

should

Should make us very cautious in trusting implicitly to his opinion. We should consider also what character he had as a judge, before we pay deference to his unsupported authority. It is curious to observe, that in the very next sentence we find him recorded as believing that the Heavens were an arch of stone;* because one stone was said to have fallen from the air. If his conclusions were frequently such as this, we may doubt whether the premises would warrant them. Of Metrodorus we know nothing, but both he and Anaxagoras had this similarity with Mr. Bryant; they not only pulled down the received system, but built up another. Now they suppose the whole story allegorical, the first making it symbolical of virtue and vice, the other of natural philosophy. Each of these three sceptics are therefore contradicted by the other two, and notwithstanding this contradiction they use each others authority as far as it coincides with their own; their mistakes however in converting Homer into allegory are too apparent to be dwelt upon, and from thence we may learn how far the vanity of sophistry might carry them in support of a singular hypothesis. But says Mr. Bryant they lived in Phrygia, in or near the part called Troas. The coast *must* have been known to them, they were men of knowledge who would *hardly* omit an opportunity of information. These words, qualified as they are with *must* and *hardly*, shew that all this is conjecture. A man of knowledge would *hardly* believe stones fell from heaven, but we find that Anaxagoras did believe it, so that it is possible these men of knowledge and curiosity might not do all that Mr. Bryant ascribes to them.

N O T E.

* He is also recorded, as maintaining the Sun to be a red hot iron, larger than the Peloponnesus. *μύθειον διάπυρον καὶ μέγιστον τῆς Πελοποννήσου.* Diog. l. ii. sec. 8.

Neither was the scene of action so immediately in their neighbourhood. From Lampfacus to Troy, was 45 miles, to the coast still farther. The not finding traces of the city* or country round it is assigned by Mr. Bryant as the motive of their scepticism; but this motive is no where ascribed to them by their biographers and disciples; and Mr. Bryant is himself an instance of the contrary, for his disbelief is very far from being founded on an accurate knowledge of the plain. Had the hypothesis been well founded it would have had more weight at a time when the facts were so easily ascertained; but Homer's story survived, and the war was believed; whilst Metrodorus and Anaxagoras have been consigned to that oblivion from which Mr. Bryant has raked their memories. "Thus the most ancient writers" (scil. Metrodorus and Anaxagoras) "either deny," says he, "the principal events of the war or totally reject it." Were they the most ancient, and does his chronology inform him of no writers whose births were prior to the seventieth Olympiad? If he will consult his Æschylus, whose antiquity is at least some few years higher; that author would show him how common the different † traditions were in his time, and how coincident with the story of Troy was the private history of Greece.

N O T E S.

* See note on page 64. It appears very uncertain whether Anaxagoras ever lived at Lampfacus; and at all events as he only lived there the latter part of his life, which was a long one, the Book he wrote if not composed before he saw the plain, was much later than the 70th Olympiad in which he was born.

† Æschylus was born 525 years A. C. died 456, aged 69.

Herodotus was born 484 years A. C. died 413, aged 71.

Anaxagoras was born 498 years A. C. died 428, aged 70.

Sophocles was born 496 years A. C. died 406, aged 90.

We see therefore that Æschylus was prior to Anaxagoras, and that Herodotus and Sophocles, who were contemporaries, may be considered as older authors, since they wrote at an earlier period of life.

Agamemnon,

Agamemnon, the Choephoræ, and the Furies are all instances of it. Sophocles, with every poet of the time, alludes to the histories of this period. Herodotus, the father of history; Thucydides the most accurate of historians, both give it a formal sanction. But as Herodotus is brought forward in evidence against me, I will beg the reader to attend particularly to Mr. Bryant's argument here, and to consult with the original, which I believe will not be found very favourable to his hypothesis. Herodotus was of opinion that the expedition had taken place, but insists that Helen was not there. Having long argued against this fact and against the authenticity of some Cyprian verses which mention it; having endeavoured as much as he could to illustrate Homer, reverting to his history, he says, * *adieu now to Homer and the Cyprian verses*. These words I will just observe are translated by Mr. Bryant. "Away with them together, a long farewell to each, both to Homer and the Cyprian verses." This specimen will put the reader on his guard against Mr. Bryant's translations, and will shew him what was in reality the *great and contemptuous disdain* in which Herodotus held Homer. The passage † from which Mr.

Bryant

N O T E S.

* Herodotus, l. ii. c. 118. p. 157. *Ωμηρος μὲν οὐκ ἐκ Κυπρίων ἐπέων χρίσεται*. Bryant, p. 90. The elegant and judicious criticism which precedes these words, is surely a very strange mode of testifying contempt, and it is not usual for an author to elucidate so elaborately a work he despises, or to be the biographer of the Poet whom he treats with disdain.

† The Stranger Venus, to whom a Chapel is dedicated in the temple of Proteus in Egypt, I conceive to be Helen, the daughter of Tyndarus, both because I am informed that Helen was hospitably entertained for some time by Proteus, and also because that *the Stranger* is a name by which Venus was never called in any other place; but, more than all, in answer to my inquiries concerning Helen, the Priests informed me that Alexander having carried her off from her husband in Sparta, was on his return home, driven by a violent and contrary wind into the Canobic Mouth of the Nile; that there he was accused by his own Slaves, who related the whole transaction of Helen's rape, and the injury inflicted upon Menelaus, to Thonis, the chief officer of the district; and that Thonis, immediately by the following message, reported their information.

Bryant quotes ; translated as far as it belongs to this question, the reader will find in the note below ; and thence learn to estimate the

N O T E.

tion to Proteus, the King at Memphis: " A Stranger, by birth a Teucrian, who has done an unhallowed deed in Greece, has arrived here, he has seduced the Wife of his Host, and with her and abundant wealth he has been driven on your coasts by a storm. Shall we then dismiss him with impunity, or make a seizure of such articles as are in his possession?" to which Proteus returned an order to this effect: " Of whatsoever nation the perpetrator of such an impious breach of hospitality may be, seize and send him to me, that I may know what he can say in his own defence." Thonis accordingly secured the person of Alexander, and detained his ships, and sent him and Helen, with their effects, and also the Slaves to Memphis, where, being examined by Proteus, Alexander both freely acknowledged the family from which he sprung, told the name of his country, and related also the course of his voyage; but prevaricating in his answer to the King's inquiry, whence he had taken Helen, the evidence of the Slaves was received to all the circumstances of that criminal transaction, and Alexander was accordingly convicted. Proteus then pronounced this sentence: " Did I not hold sacred the life of a stranger, I would now, by taking your's, avenge the injury you have done to the Grecian. O meanest, basest of mankind, who, not content with the sacrilegious violation of hospitality in seducing the wife of your host, have proceeded still farther, to bear her away from him, and with her the effects of her plundered Lord, your life is safe, for you are a stranger, and I am now your host; but the woman and her wealth I will not permit you to remove, but reserve them for your Grecian host till he shall please to claim them. For yourself and the associates of your voyage, I command you within three days to leave my realm, on pain of being else considered as enemies."—Such according to the Egyptian Priests was the arrival of Helen at the Court of Proteus, and Homer, though he has not adopted it, (for it was not to his purpose) has nevertheless by some allusions persuaded me that he had received the same account; he evidently refers to the circuitous voyage of Alexander, and intimates his having touched at Sidon in Phœnicia along with Helen.—Hecuba, in the *Iliad*, takes from her wardrobe

" Works of Sidonian women, whom her son,
The godlike Paris, when he crossed the seas
With Jove-begotten Helen, brought to Troy."

ILIAID. vi. 289.

And Helen in the *Odyssey*, medicates the wine of Menelaus, and his guests with herbs of strange potency.

" Such drugs Jove's daughter owned, with skill prepared,
And of prime virtue, by the wife of Thone,
Egyptian Polydamna, given her."

ODYSSEY. iv. 227.

Menelaus also tells Telemachus, that

" As yet the Gods on Egypt's shore detained
Me wishing home, angry at my neglect
To heap their altars with slain hecatombs.

ODYSSEY. iv. 351.

It is hence manifest that Homer was acquainted with the voyage of Alexander into Egypt, for Syria,

the literary indifference with which Mr. Bryant affects to consider the truth or falsehood of his hypothesis. But what is the natural inference from all this story? That a separate tradition of the war of Troy was preserved in the annals of Mr. Bryant's favourite country; that his much respected Egyptian priests corroborate Homer, since Thone and Proteus were both known to them; that Menelaus had really arrived there, and we have even a circumstantial narration of his conduct. How will Mr. Bryant controvert the Egyptians on their own ground, or prove against their priests, that the Troy which they themselves placed in Phrygia, and all the detail of events in which they mistakenly coincide with Greek authors, were really to be referred to the annals of their own country? If in the time of Herodotus their traditions did not reach high enough, is it highly probable, that Mr. Bryant, after an interval of more than 2000 years should discover the truth of an Egyptian story, contrary to the concurring evidence of the whole body of Grecian, Egyptian, and Asiatic history, as preserved by the Egyptian † priests at the time of Herodotus. "Of these facts," says the historian, "some were the result of much diligent enquiry; others they knew for certain as having happened among themselves:" yet such is the author, and such is the passage, a part of which we here find misquoted

N O T E S.

Syria is on the confines of Egypt, and the Phœnicians, to whom Sidon belongs, inhabit Syria. These passages, therefore, indisputably prove that the Cyprian verses, in which Alexander is said to have sailed with a prosperous gale in three days from Sparta to Ilium, belong to some other poet and not to Homer, who thus declares that Alexander when carrying Helen off, returned by a very wide and wandering course.—But we now take leave of Helen and the Cyprian verses.

† Herodotus mentions a tradition prevalent in Asia, and describing the Greeks as the aggressors, to which they attributed the long animosity that involved the nations in perpetual wars, and which terminated only with the Persian monarchy. This tradition he acquired at Persepolis. See Herodot. Clio. ch. 1.

in support of Mr. Bryant's hypothesis. The reader will judge whether Mr. Bryant could be ignorant of the inferences which followed from the passage, and will be either indignant or amused at the adroit manner in which he has kept back the remainder of this account. Euripides follows Herodotus in supposing Helen not to have been at Troy; but so far from insinuating that the rest of the story was fabulous, he founds many of his plays on it as on a well-known fact. His authority on what he positively asserts is, therefore, at least as good as on the single point he denies. When he or Herodotus mention that Helen was not at Troy during the siege; this certainly implies that there was a Troy, and that there was a siege; otherwise, I would ask Mr. Bryant whether they would have said she was absent from a place where no one was present. All these authorities, therefore, are, unfortunately for Mr. Bryant, in direct opposition to his hypothesis.—But as arguments from Egypt are more immediately conclusive against him on this subject, it may not be irrelevant from our purpose to ask him here, how the traditions, and early histories of Troy in Egypt came to be so completely destroyed, as that nothing relative to this plagiarism of Homer should appear when the Ptolemies called together Zenodotus, Aristophanes, and Aristarchus, whose very name is proverbial of severity. We must consider also that these men revised Homer in Egypt, whose traditions were coæval with her priesthood, and whose library at Alexandria was the wonder of the world. Let every reader also recollect that * Callimachus and Apollonius Rhodius were librarians of this very collection, and yet how often do they

N O T E.

* Callimachus *"Eis Apollonion*, l. 230.

mention this part of ancient history, without even dreaming of its supposed Egyptian origin. The other testimonies are as follows. Strabo mentions a learned Lady, Hestîæa Alexandrina, who wrote concerning Troy, but could not, says Mr. Bryant, discover its situation. Demetrius of Scepsis was in the same ignorance, and from these Strabo gives his account. In one circumstance they all agree, that the situation of the modern town of Ilium was not that of the ancient Troy: they also agree in representing most of the tombs of the heroes, and many other landmarks mentioned by Homer as still existing in their time: they seem all however to be persuaded of the existence of Troy, and therefore certainly did not suspect that so strong an inference as Mr. Bryant's could be drawn from their ignorance of its situation. That Strabo had not visited the Troad in person, is certain, since however Mr. Bryant may contend for the contrary, we find him every where quoting Demetrius in this part of his work, and qualifying those passages of which he was in doubt by referring to him, or arguing on the possibility of his being mistaken. It is after him that * Strabo quotes Hestîæa; after having recorded the controversy respecting New Ilium, and giving a description of the plain, he says, † Εμπειρος δ' ὢν τῶν τόπων ὡς ἀν' ἐπιχωρίους ἀνὴρ ὁ Δημητριος τότε μὲν οὕτως λέγει περὶ αὐτῶν. Demetrius, a man well acquainted with the country, and a native of the place, gives this account of them. Relative to the ‡ Rhesus in the next page, he quotes him again. In the § pages before this, we find for ever, ὑπονοεῖ Δημητριος; Φησὶ Δημητριος ὁ Σκεψίος. In another place having argued his account

N O T E S.

* Strabo, l. 189. p. 599.—† Strabo, l. xiii. p. 602.—‡ Strabo, *ibid* *ibid*. "Demetrius imagines."

§ Strabo, l. xiii. p. 596. also p. 594. "Demetrius of Scepsis says."

to imply a contradiction, he says, " but I approve * the rest, and think that in general we may rely upon Demetrius, an acute man and born in the country." Is this the concise and clear language of Strabo on a place where he had been? or with his extensive knowledge of Homer, would he have quoted Demetrius for what he had seen himself and could so ably judge of? or would he endeavour to controvert Demetrius, by shewing an inconsistency in his account, if he could have contradicted the fact itself from his own observation? The authority therefore of Strabo, is only that of Demetrius and Hestiera; and to what does it amount? to prove that new Ilium was not Troy, and that the old town was so destroyed they could not find it. This last circumstance Mr. Bryant thinks conclusive. How did Strabo see it? † Εμοσως, says he, " it is *probable*; for when all the district was ruined, and the other towns laid waste, but not destroyed, Troy, which was entirely overturned, was made use of to repair the others." Of these Sigæum was one. Demetrius, as we are told, in the next ‡ page, accused Timæus of a blunder in asserting that Achillem, a village near it, was built of the stones of Troy by Periander; but he says the nature of the stone was not the same as that of Troy; a circumstance which shews him to be well acquainted with it. " This is the evidence of a native of the very district," and if he could not find the city he seems at least to have found the stones belonging to it.

But Stefichorus, an author prior to Herodotus, had the same opinion that he has, says Mr. Bryant, since he maintained that

N O T E S.

* Strabo, l. xiii. p. 603. Τέλλα δὲ ἀπολαμβάνομεν ἢ τὰ τε πλείστα δὲν περσέχειν, ὡς ἀνδρὶ ἱμπίεω καὶ ἰντοπίω.

‡ Strabo, l. xiii. p. 599.—† Strabo, *ibid*, p. 600.

Helen was never upon the sea. In the first place as Herodotus mentions her being in Egypt, I hardly know by what other means she could get there, unless we suppose her to have made a very curious circuit indeed. But "Stesichorus flourished in the 42d Olympiad;" therefore Anaxagoras and Metrodorus were not the most ancient authors, as we had been assured a few pages before. It is a story told also of Stesichorus, that Venus struck him blind for his blaspheming, and that he retracted all that he had affirmed; from hence we may infer that his history is not particularly authentic, nor can we place implicit reliance on the whole of it. But though Venus might not strike him blind, we have, at least, just as good authority for his retraction as we have for his original writing, and if Mr. Bryant can argue so strongly from his first work, I have equal right to build upon his palinodia. We only know his work, as quoted by Dion Chrysostom, who like Mr. Bryant was supporting an hypothesis; it was however an hypothesis from which Mr. Bryant can derive but little strength; for so far was he from denying the existence of the Phrygian Troy, that he contends for its having survived the siege, *καὶ μὴ αὐθιγῆαι*, he only denies its fall, and from the silence of the Grecian Homer respecting the final event, infers the defeat of the Poet's countrymen, and concludes that Ilium had repulsed the Greeks. To whatever Homer has affirmed, he accedes, and then only feels himself at liberty to indulge his imagination, when the incontrovertible testimony of the Iliad offers no obstacle to an hypothesis which is so evidently written in sport, that it is wonderful to hear him seriously quoted on any occasion by so grave a writer as Mr. Bryant, whose arguments I now conceive to be fully answered. I will therefore conclude with his own triumphant quotation, which the reader will possibly apply rather differently. *Cujusvis hominis est errare nullius nisi insipientis in errorem perseverare.*

Colonies of Greeks
and Trojans, and me-
morials of the war, a
proof of the veracity
of Homer.

Mr. Bryant in his next* chapter enumerates the immense number of Colonies, which in after ages claimed their descent from the victors or vanquished of this memorable æra. He notices also the different altars and memorials said to be left by them in various and improbable parts of Europe. These circumstances have been used as an argument, and surely a just one, to prove the existence of the Trojan war; not it is true from the authenticity of these settlements, but from the generality of opinion which the supposition implies, even if it be false. Whilst we can account for exaggeration in the national vanity of after times, we can account for the original idea no otherwise than by supposing its truth, since the colonies who pretended to derive their origin from Æneas, Diomedes, or Menelaus, certainly believed that such persons had existed. They likewise agree in placing them with Troy in Phrygia, and the general outline of their story is the same with that of Homer, however their vanity may have altered some particulars which were not adapted to their national pretensions. Returning to Homer, we find in his plain narration, few of these inconsistencies. Æneas lived and reigned in Troas, and the traditions of the Sceprians corroborate this account. As to the other stories, it is very possible many colonies were founded, for the victors returning home, were in many places vanquished in their turn. Driven from home as they had driven the Trojans, both parties sought a refuge elsewhere. Such were frequently the colonies of the early ages, unless the account that is universally

N O T E.

* Concerning the argument which is founded on the many memorials of the Trojan war, supposed to have been extant in different parts of the world. Bryant, p. 92. and Corollary, ditto, p. 98.

given

given of them by the ancients is to be superseded in favour of Mr. Bryant's heroes, the Tyrians, Sidonians, and Cuthites.

In another very singular * chapter Mr. Bryant enumerates the names of the heroes who were worshipped or rather revered in different places, and who received heroic honours in countries where they had little right to expect them. These he quotes chiefly from the "latebræ Lycophronis atri," of which the extreme obscurity is universally acknowledged. He concludes that the beings so † worshipped were gods, whose titles or whose secondary appellations Homer conferred upon his heroes. Would ‡ Homer, who is the strictest observer of costume, give to fictitious characters names unknown or unused by his countrymen? If not, why might not such names be real ones at the time? But if the beings so worshipped were the heroes of Homer, the fact proves at once both their existence and their celebrity. In either case Mr. Bryant will find it impossible to draw from these data any inference which does not militate against his hypothesis.

Homer's names not applied arbitrarily to mere creatures of his imagination.

For several pages after this Mr. Bryant contends strongly that Homer was not an Asiatic but a native of Greece, probably of

No inference to be drawn from so unsupported a conjecture as Mr. Bryant's on the Country of Homer.

NOTES.

* Concerning the heroes who were deified.

† The general plan of Lycophron is perspicuous enough, and accords with Homer. A Nuntius relates to Priam the prophecies of his imprisoned daughter Cassandra, and by her *δοσφάτοι ἀνιγμάτων ἔμμαι* the scene and characters are sufficiently ascertained. The scene is Phrygia, the characters Greeks and Trojans. This is the more worth notice, because the Poet lived in Egypt under Ptolemy Lagus; and yet no Egyptian tradition occurred to him, though his character for research and antiquarian learning was such, that of all men he was perhaps the most likely to detect and expose the error of his countrymen.

‡ See notes on Agamemnon, p. 59.

Ithaca,

Ithaca, and of Egyptian origin, this he had already insinuated, and I have waved the contest, since mere conjecture requires no answer. I shall do the same here, owning, that in some points I have the pleasure of agreeing with him, and not knowing any real authority that either contradicts or confirms one tittle of his assertions. Besides this I am able safely to give him here, at least, a tacit acquiescence, since I cannot perceive that any sort of inference results from the establishment of either side of the question.

Recapitulation.

From the thorough destruction of his supposed series of evidence, I come to a conclusion diametrically opposite to Mr. Bryant's. If Homer bears such a semblance of truth; if Varro and Justin do not refute his veracity; if the grounds of the war were probable and natural, the men engaged in it, and the conduct of it such as might be expected; if Thucydides, Diodorus, and Herodotus, both confirm and account for it; if the accounts given of the numbers and ships of the Greeks are credible, and if their proceedings in Troas, as far as are recorded are consonant to nature; if their correspondence with Greece and the age of Helen, and of the Lovers and Suitors, all prove nothing against the fact; if the objection about the Arcadian mariners is without any foundation; if the foss and rampart were such as might easily be destroyed, and the topographical objections every where founded on mistaken notions, as I shall now endeavour to prove; it follows that all conclusions drawn from such premises are annihilated, and therefore that Troy may have existed notwithstanding the objections of Mr. Bryant. There seems besides to be still less reason for supposing it to have existed in Egypt. Conjectures upon Homer's life and writings may be answered by other conjectures, but in reality as they prove nothing, they need not be answered at all; Homer's acquaintance

acquaintance with Egypt is slight ground for such an inference ; of the writers who treated the subject, only one (Phantasia) is said to be an Egyptian, and her name confutes the story. Not one is mentioned as placing Troy out of Phrygia either before or since, so that if it belonged to Egypt, such a concurrence in favour of one particular spot is wholly incredible. Therefore we must either suppose Phantasia wrote on a Greek story, or that Homer, Syagrius, Dictys, Dares, and other Greeks, wrote on an Egyptian one, and both ideas are equally absurd. The ancient traditions for ever are in contradiction with respect to the particulars, many different accounts are transmitted, but most of them are subsequent to Homer, whose consistency bears great internal marks of truth, and not one tradition or story, either ancient or modern, ever removed Homer's Ilium to Egypt, till the attempt of Mr. Bryant. If I have accounted for the difficulties which he finds in respect to the Greek names and Grecian worship introduced by Homer into Phrygia ; if the names said to be borrowed by Homer from the deities, were, in his time, probably the common names of his country ; if the Egyptian derivation of Agamemnon is without proof ; and if his own authorities, so far from assisting him when they are fairly quoted, really disprove his arguments ; if the memorials found in the different parts of the world, and the deification of Homer's heroes are really confirmations of the received opinion, the consequence follows that we have no sort of ground, from any argument Mr. Bryant has used, to suppose that the scenes of the Iliad were originally foreign to Phrygia, but we have many unanswerable reasons to believe the reverse. Having shewn therefore, as I trust, that Ilium did not exist in Egypt ; having before shewn that there is no reason to doubt the ancient story concerning the war in Phrygia, it shall be my effort to convince

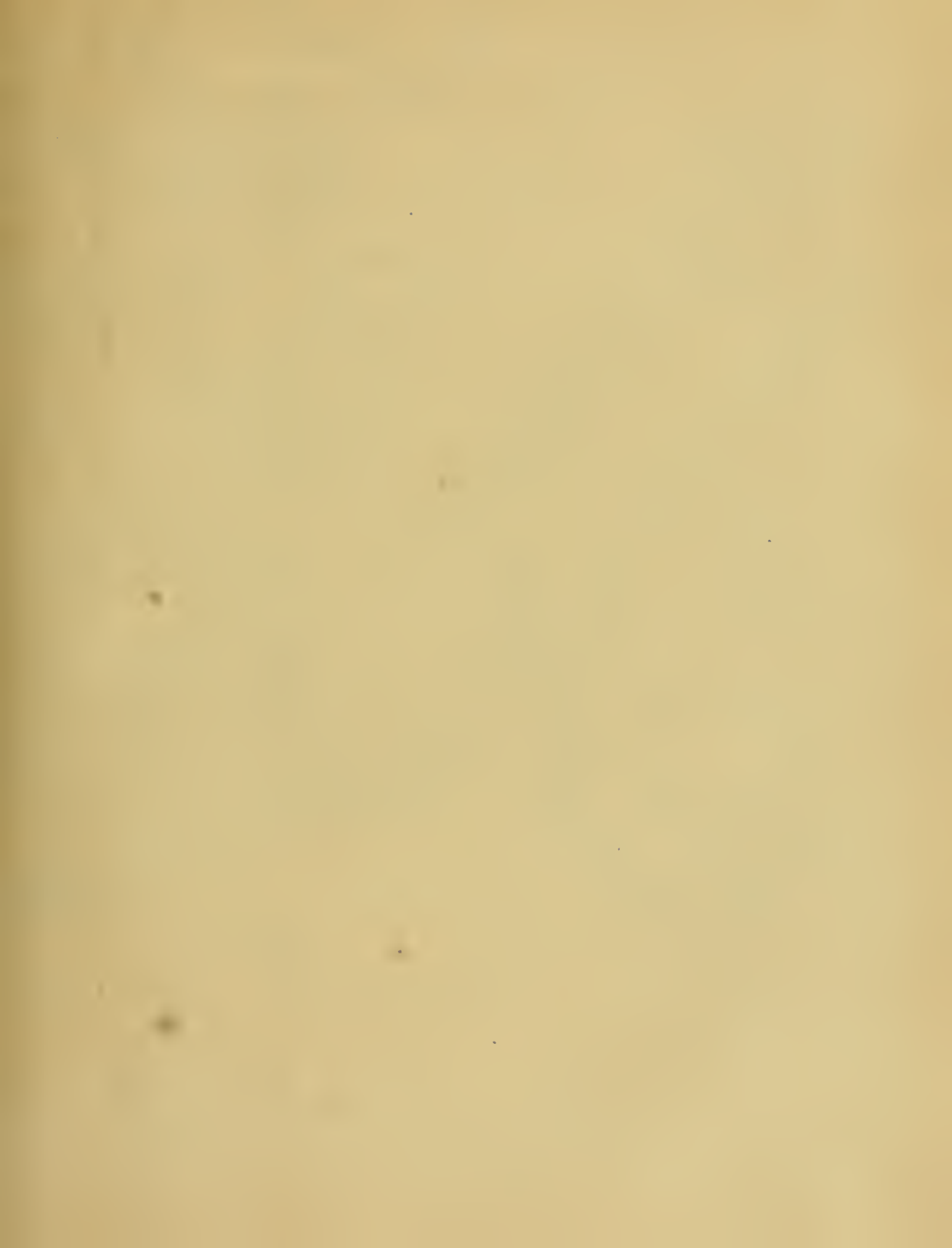
the reader that it did exist, and in the very situation where Homer has placed it.

PART THE SECOND.

Introduction.

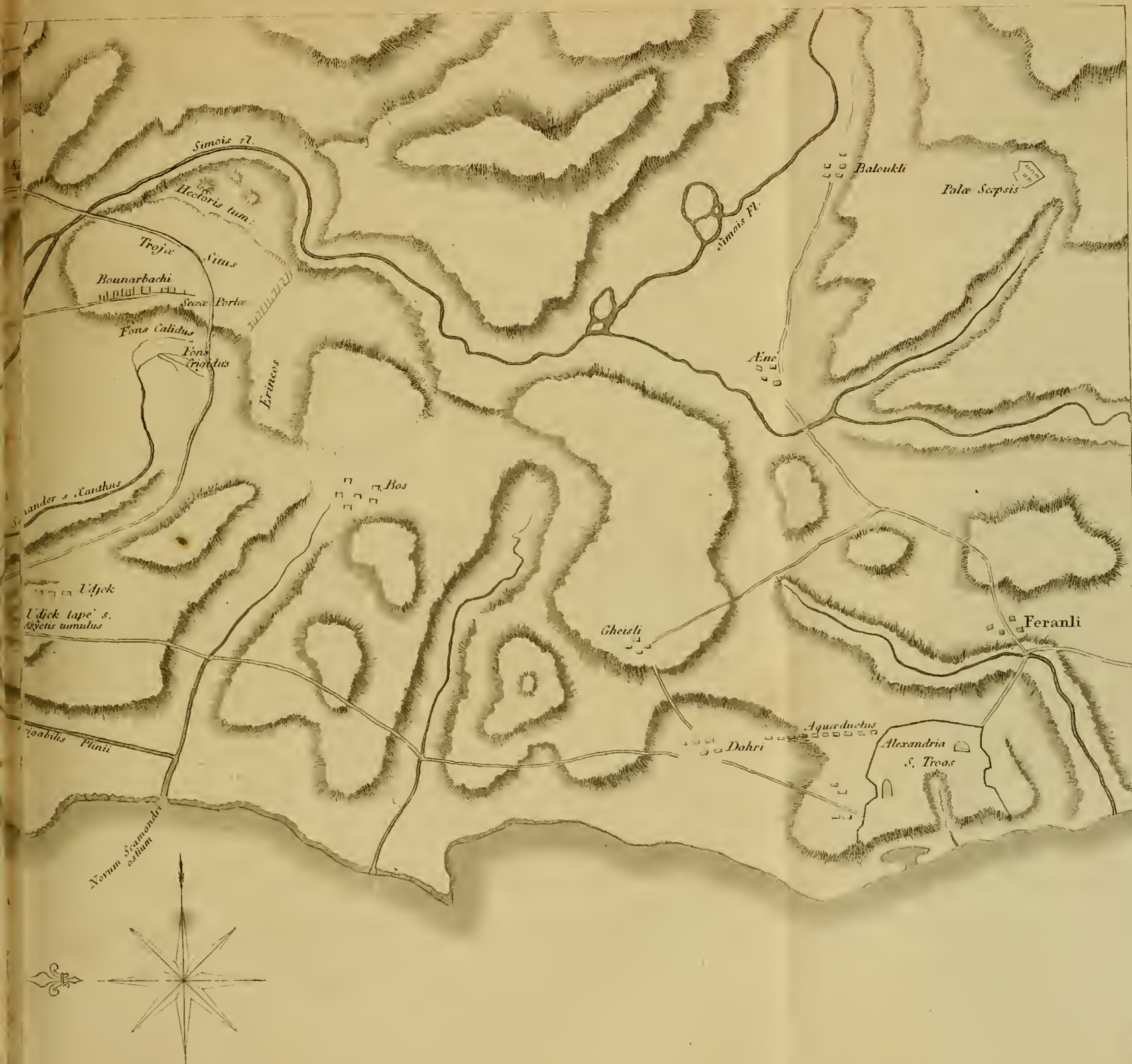
Of all the arguments which have been used in support of ancient historians there is none so conclusive as that which is drawn from the exact concurrence of their topography, with what we find *to be the present state of the country*. Their accuracy, in points of which we are able to judge, is a rational ground of belief in those for which we have only their uncontradicted assertion. But there is no historian, however exact, who can compare in this respect with Homer. The ingenious publication of Monsieur Chevalier, had shown that many more circumstances illustrative of the Iliad might still be traced in the Plain than were generally imagined to be there. His work had to combat with incredulity, which will ever attend a discovery of this sort unsupported by concurrent testimony. That testimony I am happy to be able to give, for though I may perhaps sometimes differ with him in his conjectures, yet I found him every where a faithful relater of facts. Assisted by his book, I examined the whole country with some degree of attention, and before I proceed any further I beg to refer the reader, through the whole of this treatise, to the subjoined Map, of which the chief part exactly agrees with that of M. Chevalier; since I found it (except some trifling oversights which are here corrected) as accurate as that of Mr. Bryant's is erroneous and defective. To make these arguments more conclusive, I previously inform the reader, that considering, *a priori*, the situations, and remains which Homer's writings would lead us to expect, I will show that

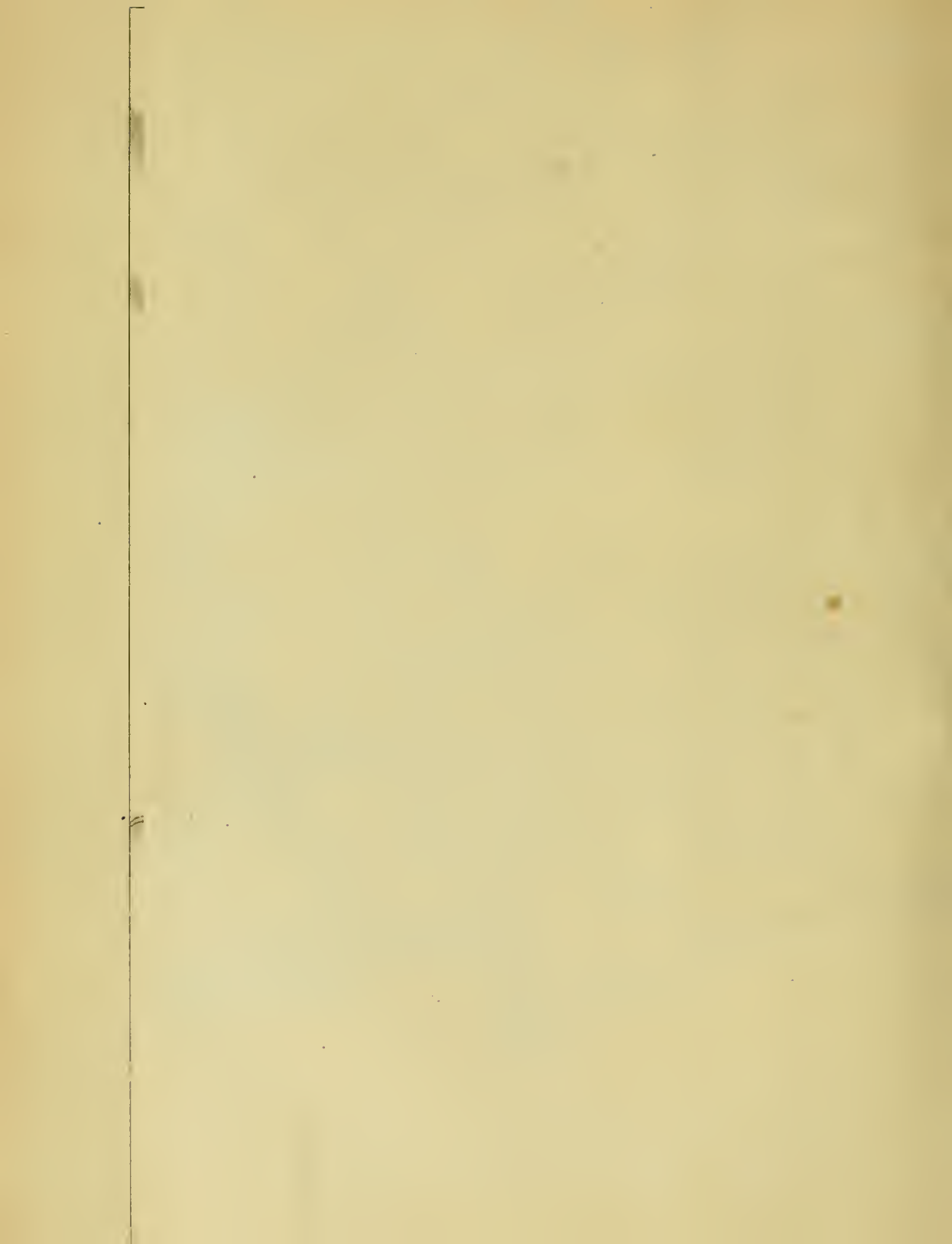
in





ÆGEUM MARE





in most points our expectations may be gratified, and will endeavour to answer the topographical arguments which Mr. Bryant has brought forward both here, and in his previous publication on this subject.

According to Homer's description the armies are repeatedly engaged in a plain between Troy and the ships, and in all this space it no where appears that there were any defiles, or mountain passes,† as these were circumstances which Homer could not fail to mention, since they would have given a different character to the whole tenor of his battles. Through this plain two rivers ‡ the Simois and the Xanthus poured their waters; the chain § of Ida commanded it on one side, since Gargarus, one of its summits, is repeatedly mentioned as overlooking the city and Plain; a part of Ida, called Callicolone, or the beautiful hill, || was near the city and the Simois; the plain ** on the other side was bounded by the Hellespont, and also by the more open sea as we may learn from the †† descriptions of an extensive ocean, which are inapplicable to the straits of Abydos. The extent of the Plain was such as to contain two armies one of fifty thousand, the other of a hundred

On the situation
and extent of the
plain.

N O T E S.

† Hom. Il. ii. ver. 465. Ibid. 812.

‡ Juno and Minerva descend at their confluence. Hom. Il. v. ver. 774.

§ Hom. Il. viii. ver. 47. Ibid. xi. ver. 183. Ibid. ver. 337. Ibid. xiv. ver. 157. Ibid. xv. ver. 5...

|| Hom. Il. xx. ver. 53.

** The Camp of the Grecians was near the Hellespont. Il. xvii. v. 432. and passim.

†† Homer, Il. i. v. 34. Ibid. i. v. 327. Ib. xxiii. ver. 59. also xxiii. ver. 230. where this Sea, is called Θρηκικός ποταμός. "The Thracian Sea."

thousand

thousand men in order of battle,* nay more, when they combated at the ships,† to place them at a considerable distance from the city : Had the city and the ships been very near each other, the encampment of the Trojans near the Scamander and the tomb of Ilus, would have been useless, but Hector assigns as the reason for that encampment, that the Grecians might otherwise attempt to escape ‡ in the night: the City therefore was not in such a situation, as to command the Grecian camp. In this description it will be observed, that I make the Hellespont of Homer synonymous with the Hellespont of every other writer, and the same as the straits of Abydos. Mr. Bryant§ maintains that they were different : Homer, he says, uses the Hellespont for the upper part of the Ægean, and it bounded Mysia to the East. How any part of the Ægean, which is on the west coast of Asia Minor, bounded an Asiatic province to the East, I am at a loss to comprehend. Homer, however, calls the Hellespont πλάτυς i. e. broad, ἀγαγερός, flowing strongly, or with a strong current, ἀπειρώων, || impervious; but *broad*, which is merely a comparative term, is applied with a reference to rivers, and other confined channels ; flowing strongly is not the epithet of the sea, but is particularly appropriate to the straits of the Hellespont, down which there is a very rapid current ; ἀπειρώων which is translated *boundless* by Mr. Bryant means *only difficult of passage, impervious, or little navigated*; (ἀ priv. and πειρώ transeo.) * ἀπειρώων, ω Κιβισρώων, εκ

N O T E S.

* Homer, Il. v. 543. κ.τ.λ.

† Εκάθεν πόλεως κοίτης ἐπὶ νηυσὶ. Il. v. ver. 791. also Il. xviii. 256.

‡ Hom. Il. viii. ver. 510.—§ Mr. Bryant “ on the War of Troy,” p. 157.

§ Sigæa igni freta lata relucet. Virgil. Fretum it will be observed always means a Strait. Therefore, Virgil uses the word *Lata* in exactly the same sense with Homer’s πλάτυς, and both apply them to the Straits of the Dardanelles ; perhaps to that part of them near the Sigæan, more particularly as being comparatively broader than the parts immediately above the Troad.

* * Sophocles. Oedip. Tyrannus. l. 1088 and sec.

ἔπειτα τὸν αὐτοῦ πανσελκνόν is an expression of Sophocles, where the word is used in this sense, and the epithet is applied to Mount Cithæron. The * sea, however, αἰς θαλάσσης, was near the Grecian camp, particularly near the station of Achilles, and this I also mean to prove was the case. But says Mr. Bryant, the very words † Ἑλλης πόλις, imply an extent of sea. How little then did the ‡ Greeks understand their own language, who applied those words to the strait of Abydos for ages afterwards; and how little adroit were the inventors of the story of Helle, who make a ram attempt to carry double across such an expanse of water! There are proofs that the Hellespont was in every other author, the strait of Abydos, and when Mr. Bryant, therefore, calls upon his adversaries to show that Homer's Hellespont was here, it is, in fact, incumbent upon him to prove the contrary.

On the sixth of November, 1794, I arrived from Lesbos at the southern part of Ida, in company with other Englishmen. || We landed above 20 miles below Lectum, now C. Baba, in the Sinus Adramyttenus. The mountains rise gradually from the promontory of Lectum in long ridges, which unite on the right in a high summit, the ancient Gargarus, and thence bending northward form a wild mass above Scepsis and Æne: From these the Simois, and many other rivers take their rise. Leaving these on our right we crossed the chain to the coast at Alexandria Troas, now Esiki Stambol. Romantic dells, wild rocks, and brawling Alpine tor-

N O T E S.

* See the note on page 79.—† Mr. Bryant on the war of Troy, p. 159.

‡ See the Hero and Leander of Musæus throughout; see Pausanias, Strabo, and in short every author that has mentioned it; for not one is quoted by Mr. Bryant in contradiction.

|| Mr. Dallaway and Mr. Stockdale.

rents characterize the * *ἰδὲν πολυπιδάκα μήτρα Θεῶν* : but no river here runs down to the Ægean, and those who, misled by Mr. Bryant, seek here for the Simois and Scamander, will never be able to discover either the plain or the rivers. We were every where within a few miles of the coast, and often saw the sea ; the crags of Ida rise rapidly from it on both sides of Lectum, and from the shore inland the country is all mountain. Above Alexandria a gentler slope hangs more gradually down to the sea. At the foot of this, round its port, stood once Alexandria Troas, of which many ruins still remain. It has been on all hands granted that Troy was not here ; indeed here is no plain, and the little streams which flow from some baths behind the town, and join on the bare dell that there runs down to the sea, have no pretensions to be taken either for the Simois, or Scamander. Belon, who thought he recognised Troy here, owns with most perfect truth, “ that the rivers Simois and † Xanthus, (for so he calls them) are such diminutive brooks they would hardly maintain a loach or a minnow, that in summer they are dried up, and in winter a goose could not swim in them.” Such are the rivers which this part of the coast furnishes in support of Mr. Bryant’s hypothesis. A long range of lower hills from hence form the shore, unbroken but by small streams, till you come to the mouth of one which I shall shew was once the Scamander. Immediately beyond it is Cape Janizari, which is the Sigæum of antiquity, and the coast from hence is flat, and extends for about three miles along the Hellespont ; a perfect plain.

Here then we recognize the characteristics of Homer’s scene as mentioned in the first part of the chapter. A large river here falls

N O T E S.

* “ Ida the well-watered, the mother of wild beasts.”—† Belon’s Voyages, liv. ii. ch. 6.

into the sea, another stream has already been mentioned; the Hellespont bounds this plain on one side; to the west extends the “Θαλασσα πολυφλοισβος,” the tumultuous ocean: Ida rises behind it and shuts it entirely in. This plain affords an ample field for the exertions of the two armies: The harbour and camp of the Greeks would be formed by the mouth of the Simois; the plain is in parts, about four miles across; and in its utmost length I conceive it to be under nine miles. The general geography of the plain, therefore, agrees in all these respects with Homer, and as he has never mentioned the names of Sigæum* or Rheteum it is foreign to my purpose to introduce them here as the boundaries of the plain.—The accounts given of them by other ancient Authors, I shall notice hereafter. But an objection made by Mr. Bryant† to this geography is that it places Gargarus at too great a distance from the plain. He makes Lectum and Gargarus the same, which is contrary to Strabo, and to Homer. If we turn to the first, we find Lectum mentioned in these terms. “Homer‡ describes Lectum well, both as it was a part of Ida, and because to those who approach from the sea towards Ida, it is the first point of landing,” αποβασις “that offers itself, but having enumerated the extreme prominencies of Ida, Lectum, and Zeleia, he mentions also with propriety the summit of it Gargarus, *a pointed eminence*,§ “and even now,” says he, “in the highest parts of Ida || Gargarus, is
“shewn

N O T E S.

* See Mr. Bryant's Observations on a Treatise, &c. p. 5.

† Mr. Bryant on the War of Troy, p. 160, and seq.

‡ Strabo, l. xiii. p. 583, 584.—§ A pointed eminence ἀκρον ὄρος. in the original.

|| Lucas in arce fuit summâ Æn. ix. 86. Hoc est apud Gargara, quæ dicta sunt quasi καρα
κατος.

“shewn, in which is situated Gargara, a city of Æolia.” In a subsequent page we have this calculation: “After* Lectum is the town Polymedium at forty stadia, then a small grove at eighty more, “then at 140 Gargara;” therefore from Lectum to Gargarus was a distance of 260 stadia, that is, without discussing the precise measure of a stadium, about thirty miles, a distance greater than from Gargarus to Troy. Mr. Bryant, however, contends that, since Homer brings Jupiter to Gargarus, to look down on the city and plain, the plain must have been extended immediately to the foot of the mountain. Strabo, he says,† makes the coast from Lectum to Abydos, about fifty miles, of which Ilium was rather more than half, that is 200 stadia, or about 26 miles. At the same time he adds, that the whole country was divided by ridges precluding all distant view. It will be observed by the reader that he argues as if the view from Gargarus were the same with that from Lectum, when they were 30 miles asunder. Gargarus we find was much higher; it was also nearer Troy, for Lectum runs out westward into the Ægean. But even supposing the view to be taken from Lectum, his own Author directly confutes his arguments. In the very place Mr. Bryant has just quoted, Strabo has this passage, which is however omitted in the quotation: “Upon‡ Lectum an altar of the twelve Gods is seen, it is called the “fane or seat, *ιδρυμα*, of Agamemnon; this place is in sight *εν εποψει* “of Ilium, at the distance of two hundred stadia, or rather more.”

N O T E S.

κεφαλος. id est Caput Capitis; Altitudinis altitudo, *καρξ* est *η κεφαλη*. Gargara autem sunt montis Ida cacumina. propter quod dixit in arce summâ. Servius. See also Macrobius and Lactantius, the Annotator of Statius.

* Strabo, l. xiii. p. 606.—† Mr. Bryant on the War of Troy, p. 163, 164.

‡ Strabo, l. xiii. p. 902, (605 of the margin.)

Where

[illegible]



62 1116 161

Where then are the ridges described so apropos by Mr. Bryant? If human eyes could see the altar of Lectum from Ilium, much more could those of Jupiter view Ilium from Gargarus; a less distance from a higher summit. Indeed the topography of the country confirms Strabo beyond confutation. On the south of the plain the hills rise gradually up to Gargarus, which is a prominent feature* in the outline, and the only one of the summits of Ida which is seen from the plain. Homer considered it as the highest point of Ida, and therefore chose that throne for the King of the Gods. It is perhaps 25 miles from the Hellespont, and dominates over the whole country. The situation *was* still more appropriate, since he was the tutelar Deity of the town of Gargara “*ἐνθα δὲ οἰτεμένους τε βῶμος τε θυεῖς.*”† Now if the reader wishes to be acquainted with the strength of eyesight ‡ Homer allots to his Gods, he will find in the Iliad§ this account of Neptune,

Meantime the Monarch of the wat'ry main
 Observ'd the Thund'rer, nor observ'd in vain.
 In Samothracia, on a mountain's brow
 Whose waving woods o'erhung the deeps below,
 He sat, and round him cast his azure eyes,
 Where Ida's misty tops confus'dly rise,
 Below fair Ilion's glitt'ring spires were seen,
 The crowded ships and fable seas between.||

N O T E S.

* See the adjoined View from the Sigæan Promontory.

† Where he had a fane and an altar for sacrifice.

‡ Οξύς θων οφθαλμος εις τα πάλια ιδειν. Euripid. ex Stobæo.—§ Hom. Il. xiii. l. 10.

|| Upon the same system with Mr. Bryant we might dispute the distance of Ægæ, since Neptune went thither from Salamis in three strides.

The maps of the country will tell Mr. Bryant that this view of Neptune was taken from a much greater distance than that of his brother Jupiter. Since, therefore, the lofty summit of Gargarus is seen from the plain, and forms a commanding feature in the outline of the landscape; I conceive all objections of this sort are thoroughly answered, and the reader will admire the grandeur with which Homer exalts his Sovereign of the Gods, more, perhaps, than if he had conformed to the short-sighted system of Mr. Bryant.

On the nature of
the Plain and of the
Rivers.

The same precision which points out so accurately the situation of the plain, is also observable in the different epithets and descriptions which are applied to it in the Iliad. The fertility of it is noticed more than once, and the district of Troy is generally marked out as a rich soil, the *Τροίη εριβωλαξ*. The lower part of the plain is, in general, described as overgrown with reeds and aquatic plants, the consequences probably of a marsh near the junction of the rivers, which is mentioned by Homer * once in the 21st Book. Thus when Diomedes and Ulysses are engaged on their night excursion, the latter suspends the arms of Dolon upon a Marsh Myrtle (*Μυρίκη*) † and marks the road by which he is to return with heaps of reeds (*Δονακίς*), ‡ and branches of the myrtle. The various characteristics of the Simois and Scamander, are pointed out with a still greater degree of minuteness, and every where with the same accuracy. They joined their waters in the

N O T E S.

* Hom. Il. l. xxi. ver. 317. ——— τὰ πρὸ μάλα νεῖοθι λίμνης
Κεῖσθ' ὑπὸ ἰλῦος κεκαλυμμένα.

† Hom. Il. l. x. ver. 466, †67. Also the *μυρίκη* is mentioned Il. xxi. ver. 18.

Plain, for in the * fifth book, Juno and Minerva descend at their confluence. The Scamander rose in the Plain, near the Scæan Gate, from two sources, which are thus described in the † 22nd Book of the Iliad :

Next by Scamander's double source they bound,
Where two fam'd fountains burst the parted ground ;
This hot through scorching clefts is seen to rise,
With exhalations steaming to the skies.
That the green banks in Summer's heat o'erflows,
As crystal clear, and cold as Winter snows.
Each gushing fount a marble cistern fills,
Whose polish'd bed receives the falling rills ;
Where Troy's fair Dames 'ere yet alarm'd by Greece,
Wash'd their fair garments in the days of Peace.

It was owing to the situation of these sources at the foot of Ida, that in "Summer's heat" the stream was not dried up, being fed by the gradual and constant vapours, which filter through the earth. But the mountain torrents, which depend entirely on the rains of Autumn, or the melting of the snows in Spring, always disappear during the Summer in this warm climate. The epithets applied by Homer to the Scamander, in different parts of his work, are *αγλαον υδωρ, καλα ρεεθρα, ανθεμοεις, ηιοεις, αργυροδινης, δινηεις, ευρηειος, ευρροος* and once or twice, particularly in the 21st Book, † *βαθυδινης* and *μεγας ποταμος βαθυδινης*. The meadow, through which it runs,

N O T E S.

* Hom. Il. v. ver. 774.—† Hom. Il. l. xxii. ver. 147. and seq.

‡ Hom. Il. l. xxi. ver. 15, ver. 329 and passim.

is also styled the * “flowry mead of the Scamander.” The other river is mentioned less frequently, but some of its characteristics may, however, be traced in different parts of the Iliad. In the 21st book † the Xanthus calls in these terms on his ally the Simois,

Haste my Brother flood,
And check this mortal who controuls a God.—
Call then your subject streams, and bid them roar,
From all your fountains swell your watry store.
With broken rocks and with a load of dead,
Charge the black furge, and pour it on his head.

In the seventh book he is described as

The gulphy Simois rolling to the main,
Helmets and shields and godlike heroes slain.

We see then that whilst the Scamander is pointed out as a clear, beautiful, perennial stream, the Simois is characterised as a violent, unequal mountain torrent rolling down in his “black furge,” stones, trees, and dead bodies. It appears also that below the junction, the waters of both took the name of Scamander, for in the passage just quoted from the twenty-first book, we find the Xanthus calling to the Simois for assistance, which would have been very useless, unless the battle was fought below the confluence.

N O T E S.

* "Εσαν δ' ἐν λειμῶνι Σκαμανδρίῳ ἀνθεμίζοντι. Hom. Il. ii. ver. 467.

† Hom. Il. l. xxi. v. 308. and seq.

No mention is made of the Simois springing in the plain, and that many streams joined it in its course appears from the same quotation. Mr. Bryant, however, contends that Chevalier is mistaken in all this description.* The epithets *δινηεις*, *ευρεος*, *ευρρειος*, convince him that the Scamander was a larger stream than is here described, and he observes that no epithets are bestowed on what he calls *the subordinate and ignoble Simois*. Mr. Bryant, the reader will observe, is not so sparing of his epithets as Homer with regard to this river; the character of which must be collected from Homer's description. That the Simois was not always subordinate and ignoble appears from the *Ἰση δὲ μέγα κῆμα, πολὺν δ' ἔρρυμαγδον ἔρινε Φιτρῶν ἐλάων*, which is quoted above. That it often is so, is the very thing which Monsieur Chevalier allows; his Simois being a very considerable mountain river in winter, or after severe rains, and being frequently dry in summer, which last circumstance he assigns as the probable reason why the stream below the junction retained the name of the Xanthus, which flowed perpetually in the channel. With regard to the epithets of the Scamander, a small stream may be both *eddyling* *δινηεις*, and *beautifully flowing* *ευρεος*, *ευρρειος*. In the 21st Book the battle was below the junction, and here we find it described as *βαθυδινηεις*, and *μεγας ποταμος βαθυδινης*;† in short if these epithets are found in the Iliad, they are always allusive to the united waters of the two rivers, which as I have already observed bore the name of Scamander only. From this circumstance alone arises the alledged inconsistency.

The Scamander was also on the west of the plain, for though

N O T E S.

* Mr. Bryant's "Observations on a Treatise," &c. page. 29, 30.—† See above, l. iv.

Mr. Bryant* contests the meaning given by Chevalier to Hector's fighting *μαχης ἐπ' αἰσιερα πασης*,† yet I observe with pleasure that this interpretation is confirmed by Ptolemy,‡ who in his geography places them in the following order: Abydos, Dardanum, Simois, Scamander, Sigæum; the Simois, therefore, was nearest to Dardanum, the Scamander to Sigæum. This passage of Ptolemy is quoted in the very next page by Mr. Bryant himself. Such are the characteristics which Homer points out to us, and which we are by him prepared to expect in the plain of Troy; perhaps in the following description the reader will recognize most of them.

The plain of Bounarbachî, which, (as I endeavoured in the last chapter to show) coincides with the supposed situation of the plain of Troy, coincides with it also in its nature, and the situation of the rivers. On landing at Koumkale,§ to which we returned after an excursion to Abydos, the first appearance of the plain is that of a marsh extending near the sea, and every where of low sandy soil. A little to the east of the town, a stream, at that time very considerable, discharged itself into the sea. At the mouth of this stream are very large marshes, and the river itself was exceedingly muddy and full of stones and sand. We crossed it above the town (Koumkale) over a wooden bridge, and proceeding to the point

N O T E S.

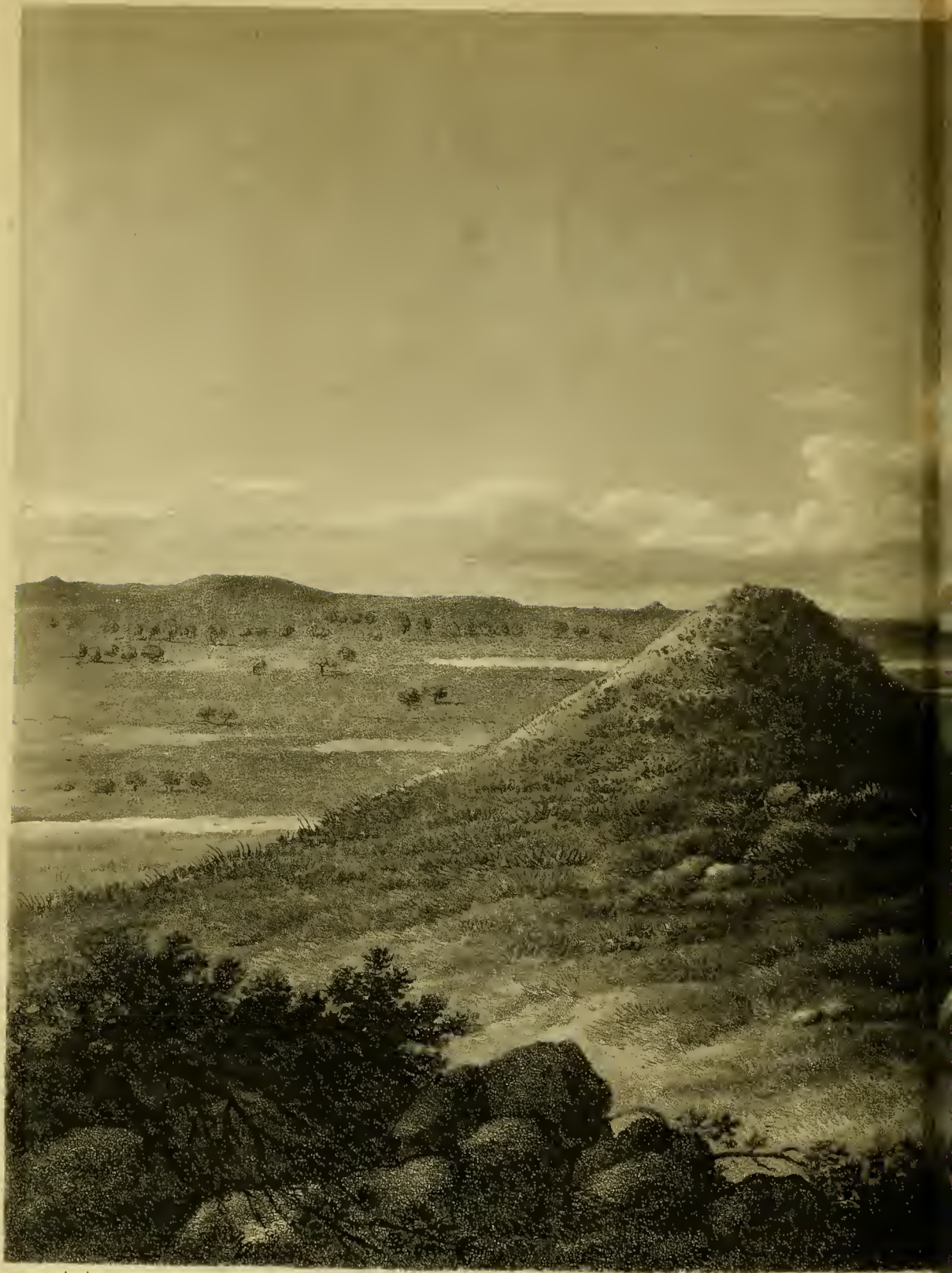
* Mr. Bryant's Observations upon a Treatise, entitled "A Description of the Plain of Troy," p. 30.

† There can be no doubt that the left of the battle with respect to Hector must mean the left of the Trojan, and consequently the right of the Grecian army. With respect to Ajax and Idomeneus the case is reversed. Neither does Homer place them *Οχθας παρ πολαιμοιο Σκαμανδρα* when they are in the left of the fight. If this argument could stand in need of confirmation, however, we find that Ptolemy affords it.

‡ Ptol. Geogr. p. 137. Bryant's Observations, &c. p. 31.—§ See Map.

marked





Mercati pinc.

Plain



Merigot sculp.

From the Tomb of St. Nicholas

marked by Monf. Chevalier as Rheteum, took the adjoined view *from the barrow*, supposed the tomb of Ajax.* Of these tombs I will say more in a subsequent Section. In the mean time the reader cannot but observe the flat low form of the plain in this part, and the long promontories, which the river has formed by the constant accretion of sand and mud at its mouth. From hence we crossed over low hills and a narrow vale, now called the vale of Thimbrek, in which we cannot but recognize the Thymbra of Homer and Strabo. We passed near Halil Eli, a small Turkish village, and then by the other village of Tchiblak. The plain, which had hitherto extended below us on the right, now turning eastward lay before us at our feet. The hills to the left form a beautiful and gay scene, covered with verdure and wood. The soil here has lost its marshy nature, and is *rich and fruitful* εἰς βωλὰς. The river which we had already crossed in the morning, rolled along at the foot of these beautiful hills, which terminate the plain a little above. Beyond this point the course of the river is confined between high romantic precipices. Having crossed it we ascended the opposite hill to the village of Bounar-bachi, where we passed the night. The morning after this our first object was to examine the nature of the fountains below the village, from which we took the adjoined view. The cold spring gushes out from four or five crevices at the foot of the rock, which forms the foreground of this picture. At the small distance here delineated another spring rises, which, at the time I was there,† was of considerable warmth. Its waters are even now received into a marble basin, like those of Homer's Scamander, and in that

N O T E S.

* See Chevalier on the Plain of Troy, p. 102 and 106. On the Rheteum and the tomb of Ajax.

† November 13, 1794.

part of the basin where the water enters, the temperature is scarcely of less heat than that of the warm spring at Bristol. The Turks who had attended us from Bounarbachî, confirmed the assertion of Chevalier, that the water was considerably warmer during frost, and steamed very visibly. If this was the Scamander, then the Scæan gate was near the springs, but I shall say more of this, when I come to consider the situation of the city. After examining what related to the city, we followed the course of this stream, riding along the foot of the hills which bound the plain to the south and west. The warm and cold springs very soon unite their waters, and roll along in the plain with a beautifully clear current. At the foot of the hills below Erkişîqui, the plain becomes marshy, and is overgrown with sedges and rushes; descending thence into the plain we crossed the Scamander over a bridge, which we had before passed in coming from Alexandria. The river here after winding through the marsh changes its course, and runs down a valley on the left in a perfectly straight canal. The ground on each side of this canal is thrown up, and affords the clearest conviction of its having been the work of art.* From hence, therefore, guided by Chevalier, we attempted to trace the ancient channel: A winding bed, in which some water still trickles when the Scamander is full, immediately caught our eye; it is of the same size with the adjoining part of the stream where it branches off, and by following the windings of its banks we arrived soon after at those of the larger river, into which it has formerly fallen. At and below the conflux, marsh myrtles, osiers, and aquatic plants, grow in abundance: I have already noticed the

N O T E.

* See Chevalier, page 24.

high





Frey from the



Merigot sculp.^e

From the Source of Scamander.

high banks of sand through which the larger river flows: I will add that in summer this last is often dry, except where the sea which inundates the marshes flows in at the mouth of it. It is always muddy, and rolls down stones and fragments from the mountains. But the other, notwithstanding severe rains, was still, when I saw it, "like chrystal clear," and in summer its channel is never dry; a property which, in this climate, might well justify the epithets of *αγλαον υδωρ*, &c. I own, throughout every part of this description, I cannot recollect any one local expression of Homer, which is not accurate at this day, if applied to the spot I have described.

I have already mentioned some circumstances relative to the situation of the city, about which indeed we find Homer extremely precise. We find in the first place that it was situated near the sources of the Scamander,* at a distance from the ships, and in a part of the plain from which the whole of the Grecian † station could not be properly reconnoitred; since Polites trusting to his skill in running, went for that purpose to the tomb of Æfyetes, for which there would otherwise have been no necessity. Speaking of its situation, ‡ he calls the town *τροιν ηνεμοεσσα* "the windy Troy," so that part of it was on a high, or at least an exposed situation. || It was at no great distance from the Simois, and the beautiful hills of Callicolone. The city was built in the plain at the foot of Ida; but this by no means im-

On the situation of the City, and of the monuments mentioned as existing previous to the war.

N O T E S.

* Hom. Il. xxii. ver. 208.—† *Εκὰδεν πόλεως κοίτης ἐπὶ νηυσί.* Hom. Il. v. ver. 791.

‡ Hom. Il. ii. ver. 791.—|| Hom. Il. xx. ver. 53.

plies that the Acropolis was not on an eminence ; and that Troy had one, appears from the 6th Book, where the Trojan dames go to the Temple of Minerva εν πολει ακρη* ; and also from the 8th Book of the Odyssey, where the Trojans debate in the Acropolis, whether they should destroy the Grecian horse by precipitating it from the rocks, on which that citadel stood. The Scæan gate was near the sources of the Scamander ; it was also the gate towards the plain, through which the heroes always issued to the battle. Near it was the ερινεός, *the bill or place of wild fig trees*, † ενθα μάλιστα Αμβρατος εσι πολις ὅ' επιδρομον επλετο τειχος, *whence the city was chiefly accessible, and the wall was on a level plain*. This will shew that though the city was εν πεδιω, the wall stood on uneven and sloping ground, since this part of it only is mentioned as being επιδρομος, or where the foot of the wall was easily accessible. A situation in which all these characteristics shall agree, can hardly, I think, be contested by any one.

Before I draw the parallel, however, I will mention some other monuments, described by Homer, as existing prior to the events of the Iliad. Baticia, or the Sepulchre of Myrina‡ was *a sharp conical hill*, αιπεια κολωνη, and Homer therefore shews us what were the Sepulchres of the ancient heroic times. The tomb§ of Æsyetes we may expect, therefore, to have been a similar cone, commanding the view of the coast, and at some distance from the city, yet not so as to be cut off from it by any part of the Greek army in the plain,

N O T E S.

* Homer also calls the Citadel in another place “ Περγαμω ακρη. the lofty Pergamus.” Virgil after him mentions the “ Priami Arx alta. the lofty Citadel of Priam.” See also Hom. Il. vi. ver. 297. Odyssey, viii. ver. 504, and seq.

† Hom. Il. vi. ver. 434.—‡ Hom. Il. ii. ver. 811.—§ Hom. Il. ii. ver. 793.

when

when drawn up on the banks of the Scamander, as in the 1st Book. This appears from Polites the son of Priam, being there as a scout to reconnoitre the naval station of the Greeks.* He trusted to his fleetness, therefore he was not near the city, and was in a situation whence he could command a complete view of the lower part of the plain, uninterrupted by any intervening points or hills.

The only other monuments that I can find mentioned in Homer,† as existing previous to the Trojan war, and which might still exist, are the tomb of Ilus, and the mound of the plain. The first was in the middle of the plain, that is, in the middle between the two sides, for that it was nearer to the ships than to the city appears from the 8th Book. The Trojans encamped *ἐπὶ Θρῳσμῷ πεδίοιο* close to the mound ‡ of the plain, which was also not far distant from the Grecian army, as appears from Homer. Mr. Bryant,§ entering into a long controversy, in order to translate *Θρῳσμος*, *fallus*, a tract of forest land, observes that no army could encamp *ἐπὶ ὑψόν* such a mound as Chevalier describes, but he must be aware || that *ἐπὶ* means “close up to,” as well as locally “upon.” That this *Θρῳσμος*, or mound, was near the tomb of Ilus also appears, because the Trojan council was held that night *παρὰ σηματὶ Ἰλῆ*,**

N O T E S.

* *Ποδωκείησι πεποιθώς.* Hom. Il. ii. ver. 792.

† Hom. Il. x. ver 414, and passim. also Il. x. 160. Ib. xi. 56. and 20. 3. and passim.

‡ This mound was near the ships. Hom. Il. x. ver. 160.

§ Mr. Bryant's Observations, &c. page 9.

|| *Ἐπὶ πλαΐει Ἑλλησποντῷ*, “On the shore of the Broad Hellespont. Hom. Il. vii. ver. 86. Also *ἐπ’ ἡιοῖνι Σκαμανδρῷ.* Il. v. 36. “On the Banks of the Scamander.”

** The tomb of Ilus was very near the ford of the Scamander, as Mercury meets Priam at that ford immediately after passing the tomb of Ilus. Hom. Il. ii. 3.

νοσφιν απο * φλοισβου. Mr. Bryant,† very unfairly, in my opinion, translates this “at the tomb of Ilus, *apart and at a distance from the noise of the camp.*” The words and meaning are “*apart from tumult,*” that is, shut out from interruption, and not one word relative to distance. For a council to retire to a distance from an army in order to be free from noise, however common it may be in modern tactics, would I apprehend have hardly been deemed military by Hector or Agamemnon. I shall now proceed to describe the actual state of these situations, and show how many of them may still be traced in the plain I have described.

Returning then to the sources of the spring at Bounarbachi, let us consider the nature of the ground that rises above them : A short slope rises on the east, and Bounarbachi stands on the flat table land above it ; this plain farther east terminates at a deep dell, where the larger river (the Simois) enters the lower plain ; on the south east a pointed and high hill rises terminated on three sides by high rocks, and the Simois rolls at the foot of these under a row of equally stupendous precipices on the opposite side. Now, assuming the proposition that this place was Troy, let us draw the wall that defended it from precipice to precipice ; we here then have the Acropolis surrounded by the rocks, down which one part of the council would have precipitated the wooden horse ; below, on the plain round Bounarbachi we shall have the city,

N O T E S.

* Hom. Il. x. ver 415. Mr. Bryant *ibid.* page 9.

† In the eighth Book Hector withdraws his army and encamps νοσφιν *apart from* the ships. Hom. Il. l. viii. ver. 490. Yet while they remain in this position, Nestor mentions them as being εγγυθι νηων, *near the ships.* l. ix. ver. 76. Therefore νοσφιν might be applied to a situation at no great distance, and Mr. Bryant's translation is totally unwarranted.

which

which from its elevation above the lower plain would be *ηνεμοεσσα* windy; the wall would on three sides be defended by the precipices, and would then run along the brow of the slope below Bounarbachii; in the part immediately above the springs would be the Scæan gate, and the platform on which Bounarbachii stands extending thence towards the west, the wall would pass from the top of the lower slope to the foot of the higher one that rises towards the citadel, across the ridge of a low hill, in that place level with the foot of the wall; this therefore being close to the Scæan gate, in our supposed situation, answers in every respect to the place of wild fig trees, *ερίκεος*, and as it runs out towards the plain, the Trojans would pass it in running thence to the Scæan gate.* From this site being allotted to Troy, the reader looking at the map, will observe, that in viewing the shore from the platform of Bounarbachii, and even from the citadel, the eastern part of the plain is hid by the hills about Tchiblak and those on the opposite side of the vale of Thimbrek; and this Homer tells us, by inference at least, was the case with Troy. Now against so strange and very extraordinary a coincidence of circumstances can we suppose that Homer had not this situation in his mind when he described Troy?

But a still farther proof strengthens our conviction; in Strabo's time, besides the tombs of Ajax, Achilles, and most of the other warriors, the tomb of Æfyetes, a monument of the highest antiquity, being mentioned by Homer as existing before the Trojan war, was shewn. Fortunately Strabo † informs us where to look for this tomb. It was seen in his

N O T E S.

* Πάρος ἑστεινεν εὐσεβίου. Hom. Il. passim.—† Strabo, l. xiii. p. 599.

time on the road leading to Alexandria from modern Ilium. This was the road by which we entered the plain first, and a high conical barrow is erected upon a hill, immediately commanding, in the most advantageous point of view, the situation of Bounarbachî on the right, and the low part of the plain, the Hellespont, and the naval station, on the left. It is at a considerable distance from Bounarbachî, but not cut off from it by the plain between the rivers where the army was drawn up. This situation bears every mark of Æsyetes's tomb ; it was called such in the time of Demetrius of Scepsis, it also is *αιπειρα κολωνη** a pointed hill, a sort of tomb usual in that age, and exists still to confirm Strabo and illustrate Homer. Of that of Myrinna there remain no traces, and the tomb of Ilus, which Chevalier marks in his map near the conflux of the rivers, was in that state that it required, he says, as accurate an observation as he took of it to ascertain its original form. In this there is, I think, a little imagination ; for, though I am convinced that the tomb of Ilus was very near the place he allots it, yet I could not ascertain its precise situation ; there are unequal mounds in this part near the rivers, some of which may be the remains of such a monument, but their appearance is, to me, by no means conclusive. The fact is that from their situations the tombs of Ilus and Myrinna have been much less likely to last than that of Æsyetes, since the ground near the monument of Ilus is marshy and wet, and the sepulchre of Myrinna† is described as standing before the city, in the plain where the armies are drawn up. Local reasons may therefore be assigned

N O T E S.

* Chevalier on the Plain of Troy, page 24.

† The tomb of Myrinna was in the plain, *περιδρομος ενθα κ' ενθα*, “ accessible with ease on all sides,” therefore more likely to be effaced by the causes assigned. Hom. Il. ii. ver. 812.

for

for their disappearance, and indeed after the days of their celebrity, in the constant cultivation of a fertile plain the labours of the plough would greatly contribute to deform and efface them. This we know happens for ever to monuments of this sort, whilst we see others as durable as the ground they stand on. At the distance of time in which Homer places the foundation of these, and the situation he allots them, these circumstances need no apology; the wonder is that any thing remains.

I must here make one observation on an objection of Mr. Bryant's, on which he seems to lay considerable weight. He says, there were no traces of the City to be found, or any ancient memorial of its having ever existed: Lucan* describing the time when Cæsar landed there, adds, "*etiam periere ruinæ*;" but as if it were not enough to mention ruins which, having perished, at least must have existed; Cæsar we see recognised the situation, for he tells us the objects that had succeeded to this scene of ruin,

*Jam † silvæ steriles, & putres robore trunci,
Assaraci pressere domos & templa Deorum
Jam lassæ radice tenent: ac tota teguntur
Pergama dumetis.*

His guide shows him also the Hercæan altars, and in the same sentence adds, *Nullum est sine nomine saxum*: No stone is without a name. "We know however of cities," says Mr. Bryant, "which have long been in a state of ruin in Egypt, Palestine and Syria,† and other regions of the East. Pæstum is

N O T E S.

* Luc. Pharf. l. ix. ver. 969.—† Luc. Pharf. l. ix. ver. 966.

‡ Mr. Bryant on the War of Troy, page 44.

still visited, and in our own country we have Verulam and Silchester." This is the same sort of argument made use of with respect to the foss and rampart. It does not prove any thing, for the question here is not whether any towns remain, but whether none have been destroyed. In this very plain the town of New Ilium,* which was once very considerable, is just as much obliterated as that of Troy: Abydos, which I also visited, is in exactly the same state, all that remains of it is a single piece of wall not above six feet high and four feet long: Of Tyre, a city full as powerful, and much more lately destroyed, we have not a vestige. But what was the ruin of any of these places (to which I could add many more) in comparison with the ruin of Troy? An implacable and vindictive war of ten years, a general conflagration and pillage; the materials that composed it carried off by the towns near, to repair the ruins they had all suffered during the war; all causes that could promote ruin conspiring with the silent lapse of ages to do what time unassisted has done to so many other places. But at last he adds, that "if every stone had been taken away, there would have remained inequalities in the ground, and to lay the ground plot smooth, was a work of labour." It was a labour that the plough would partly effect, and we are told *Seges est ubi Troja fuit*. Yet in the hill of Bounarbachi, traces of building and inequalities of ground do remain; and since Mr. Bryant has told us what he should expect, he must acknowledge that Troy might exist here, for if he visited the spot he would find his expectation answered. The situation assigned by M. Chevalier has evidently been built upon; the earth is cut into platforms, and when I considered that these

N O T E.

* New Ilium was adorned and largely added to by Alexander. See Strabo, l. xiii. p. 593.

were the foundations of ancient Troy, I wondered then that so much remained, though Mr. Bryant is disappointed at finding so little.

The heroes of the Grecian army, who are particularly mentioned as having fallen during the siege, are Achilles, Ajax, Patroclus, Antilochus, Peneleus and Protefilaus; of the Trojans many were slain, Hector particularly and Paris. We find the tombs of most of these warriors celebrated by later writers, and attracting the attention and veneration of the neighbouring towns, and of many illustrious* visitors. Alexander sacrifices at Achilles's tomb; and the Thebans†, obeying the voice of the oracle, carry off the ashes of Hector, and consecrate them in a temple at Thebes. From Homer we may easily learn what was the nature of these monuments. The structure‡ Batieia, or the tomb of Myrinna was, we find, *αιπειρα κολωνη*, a *high bill*. Homer also mentions the funeral ceremonies of Patroclus.§ “They (the Greeks) marked out his tomb in a circle, and laid the foundation of it round the funeral pyre, and then threw upon it heaped earth; and, having thus heaped up the monument, returned.” The monument therefore was made of heaped earth, and was circular. This was a Cenotaph; || for Achilles gathered the bones of his friend into a golden vase, till his own should be mixed with them. Achilles's tomb also was of the same nature, but larger; for, in the same speech, after mention-

On the form and situation of the tombs of those warriors who fell during the war of Troy.

N O T E S.

* Arrian, l. i. p. 32. Q. Curtius, l. ii. ch. 4.

† Pausanias Bæotica. p. 295. l. 37. (Edit. Francofurti. A. D. 1585.)—† See above, p. 15.

§ Hom. Il. xxiii. ver. 255.—|| Hom. Il. xxiii. ver. 243.

ing Patroclus's tomb, he adds, " afterwards, the Greeks* who shall be left in the ships at my death, will construct one broader and loftier." This tomb of Patroclus was *on the shore*, ἐν' ακτης; and on the shore† of the *Thracian sea*, by which the winds, that attended at the prayer of Achilles, returned. Of the tomb of Achilles, and the situation of it, we find a full description in the *Odyssæy*.‡ " Around them" (that is, the ashes of Achilles, Patroclus, and Antilochus) "the sacred army of the warlike Greeks, threw up a large and honourable tomb on the founding shore of the broad Hellespont, which appears far off to men at sea, and shall appear to sailors of future ages." That such was the common situation of the tombs of the Greeks, appears from Hector's speech,§ where he proposes, in the conditions of single combat, that, if he killed his adversary, the body should be returned, and that the Greeks should raise a tomb to him on the shore of the broad Hellespont. Another monument, mentioned by Homer with a great degree of particularity, is that of Hector. Having described the funeral, he says|| "they put his urn into a hollow sepulchre, and heaped it above with many large stones. Having heaped the tomb they retired." The other tombs we have described were therefore tombs of earth, that of Hector was heaped in the same manner, but was of stone: It was also near the city; for Priam orders the workmen to bring wood *to the city* ἀστυδι,** in order to make the pyre. Other particulars concerning these tombs, are mentioned in Strabo, and the later authors;

N O T E S.

* Hom. Il. xxiii. ver. 246:

† " Hom. Il. xxiii. ver. 125.—‡ Hom. Odyss. xxiv. ver. 80.

§ Hom. Il. vii. ver. 86.—|| Hom. Il. xxiv. ver. 797. and seq.—** Hom. Il. xxiv. ver. 778:

but





Mercati del

View of the Tombs of Achilles & the



Pitreculus, and - Prementory of Siguan now Cape Sanizari.

but these corroborations I defer for the present, my object being merely to shew that Homer's descriptions, as far as they go, agree accurately with the Plain.

Taking for granted, therefore, (what I have already shewn to be probable), that the naval station of the Greeks was at the mouth of the Scamander; we know that Achilles's* station was nearest the Sigeum; for that is to be inferred from Homer's † placing him on the right wing of the army; and also that it was both near the shore of the Thracian sea, and the mouth or outlet of the Hellespont. When Achilles‡ calls the winds to light Patroclus's pile, the two called are the north and west, and both return over the Thracian sea; that sea therefore, was to the north and west of the tomb, which was on the shore. This must and could only happen at the promontory, where the sea really does flow on the north and west. It is here we must look for the tomb of Patroclus, and that of Achilles which was close to it. The adjoined drawing is taken immediately off the Sigean promontory. At the foot of it the reader will observe two unequal tumuli at no great distance from the shore. From this point of view the Hellespont ran up on our left; the Thracian Chersonesus, and the north part of the Ægean were behind us, and the expanse of the sea opened out on our right. Here then are two

N O T E S.

* Hom. Il. viii. ver. 224. xi. ver. 7. and in l. xvii. l. 116. Ajax is represented as on the left of the army, therefore Achilles, who was at the other extremity, was on the right.

† This appears from the funeral of Patroclus, Il. xxiii. v. 255. and passim.

‡ Hom. Il. xxiii. ver. 194.

tumuli,

τῦμοι,* agreeing in shape, in number, in nature and situation with the two which Homer allots to Achilles, and Patroclus; and this agreement is found in circumstances of so detailed an accuracy, that it is impossible in describing these tumuli, to add, or take away any thing from his description of the tombs. Either these tombs, and this plain were the objects of that description, or their coincidence is a miracle far beyond what we can account for.

The station of Ajax † was on the left wing, and opposite that of Achilles; that is to say, it was nearest to what was afterwards called the Rhetean promontory. Where his tomb was, Homer does not tell us; but we find that he was one of the heroes who were buried in the plain; for Nestor mentions him as buried there along with Achilles, ‡ Patroclus, and Antilochus. His tomb was afterwards worshipped by the § Rheteans, and was shewn near their town. A circular chapel was built upon it, and it long continued the object of veneration. About three miles and a half from Sigæum, on a low hill, there now exists a tumulus of the same nature as those of Achilles and Patroclus; such as are in every instance described by Homer. Antony, || or Pompey, it is thought, plundered the tomb of Ajax of its ashes, and carried them to Egypt. That it was opened, however, we find in Pausanias.** His words are these; “a certain

N O T E S.

* Chevalier asserts that the tumulus of Achilles is at this day called Διος-τάπη Dios-tapé, the “divine tomb,” but besides that Dios is not a word used by the modern Greeks, it appears to be a mistake. The two tumuli are called Δωω-τάπη, which is of nearly the same pronunciation now, and means no more than *the two hills*.

† Hom. Il. loc. supracit. See note on page 23. l. xi.—‡ Hom. Odyss. iii. ver. 109.

§ Pausan. Attic. p. 33, 34. Strabo, l. xiii. p. 595.—|| See Chevalier on the Plain, &c. p. 108.

** Pausan. l. i. p. 34, 36. (Edit. Francof. A. D. 1583.)

Myſian told me that the ſea had waſhed open that part which was next the ſhore, and that the entrance into the tomb was now not difficult." On the tumulus which I have juſt deſcribed, we firſt obſerved remains of circular walls near the top; and on the weſt ſide, which is now over a large marſh, (where the ſea probably was, in the time of Pauſanias,) the ſide of the barrow has fallen away, and the mouth of a vault is diſcovered; it is of the rudeſt and earlieſt maſonry; a croſs vault is at the end of this, and in the center of the tumulus, but the earth had nearly choaked it up. This form of the inſide is a ſure proof that it was a ſepulchre, for ſuch is the ſtructure of almoſt all the ancient tombs ſtill ſeen near their cities in Greece and Aſia. Whether this ſepulchre was that of Ajax, Mr. Bryant may doubt, but we are ſure that it was the ſame which Pauſanias and the Rheteans believed to be ſuch; and againſt the evidence of all antiquity we have nothing that tends to a negative. Other tombs are viewed along the coaſt of the Hel-leſpont, but we have not data ſufficient to aſcertain the owners of each. That Patroclus though buried with Achilles, had a cenotaph we have already ſeen; but whether Antilochus had one or not we do not know; there is nothing abſurd however in ſuppoſing it, and yet I own I think thoſe who affix the names of Antilochus and Peneleus to the other barrows,* are rather to be reſpected for an ingenious conjecture than abſolutely relied on for facts. They all are ſituated on the ſhore, and appear far out at ſea, thus uniting every characteristic of the tombs of Grecian heroes.

Returning to the hills behind Bounarbachî, we find, on the ſummit of the higheſt, three tombs exactly ſimilar to thoſe on the

N O T E.

* See Dr. Chandler, Pocock, Mr. Chevalier, &c.

D d

Thore;

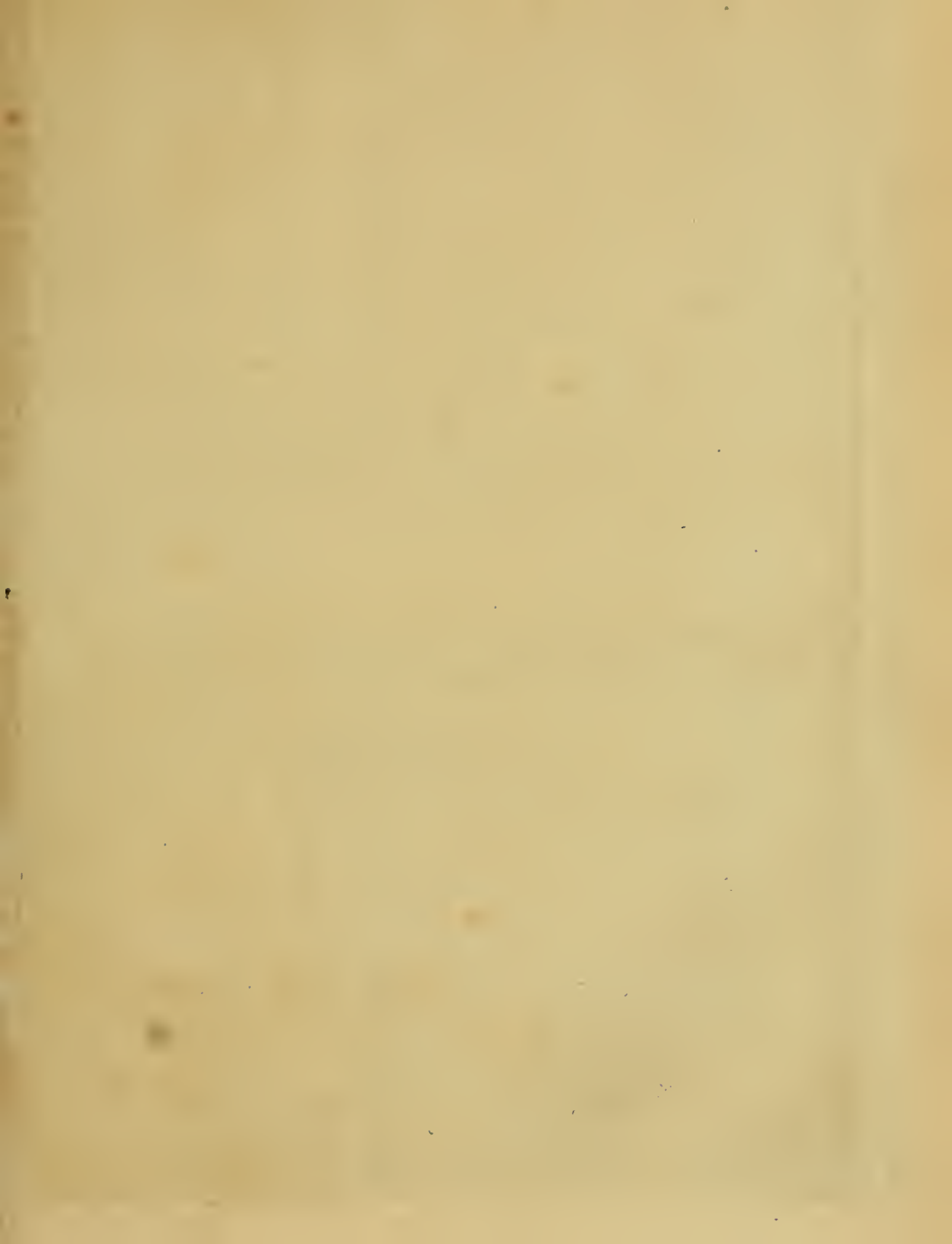
shore ; a fourth is similar in shape, but composed in a great measure of heaped stones. One side of it is injured, and appears to have been opened : In this short description do we not recognize the characteristics of the sepulchre of Hector, as described by Homer? and the more since we are told that this tomb was opened by the Thebans,* who in obedience to the Oracle carried off his ashes to their own city. These tombs are near the Acropolis, they are as visible as those on the shore, and are seen from most parts of the plain below. Another proof that the Trojan warriors were so buried, appears from the epitaph on Paris preserved by Aristotle, who mentions his tomb as situated on the summit of the hills.† What conjectural proofs can overturn a demonstration strong as that which arises from these coincidences ?

I have hitherto purposely avoided mentioning the antiquities ‡ found by the Duc de Choiseul in the tomb of Achilles ; they were much mutilated, and in consequence, so many vague conjectures were made, that since I had not an opportunity of seeing them, I dare not hazard an account, which I have heard contradicted. Every one agrees, however, that charcoal and bones were found there ; an ample proof that it was a place of burial. When in the country, I attempted repeatedly to obtain permission of digging in different parts of the plain ; but as I was not authorised by the Porte itself, the Agas, who always suspected that we wished to look for treasure, were too ignorant and too fearful to permit us.

NOTES.

* Pausanias Bæotica. p. 567. Edit. Hanov.—† Aristotelis Pepli Fragmentum ; Epitaph 54.

‡ See Chevalier, Dallaway's Ancient and Modern Constantinople, &c.

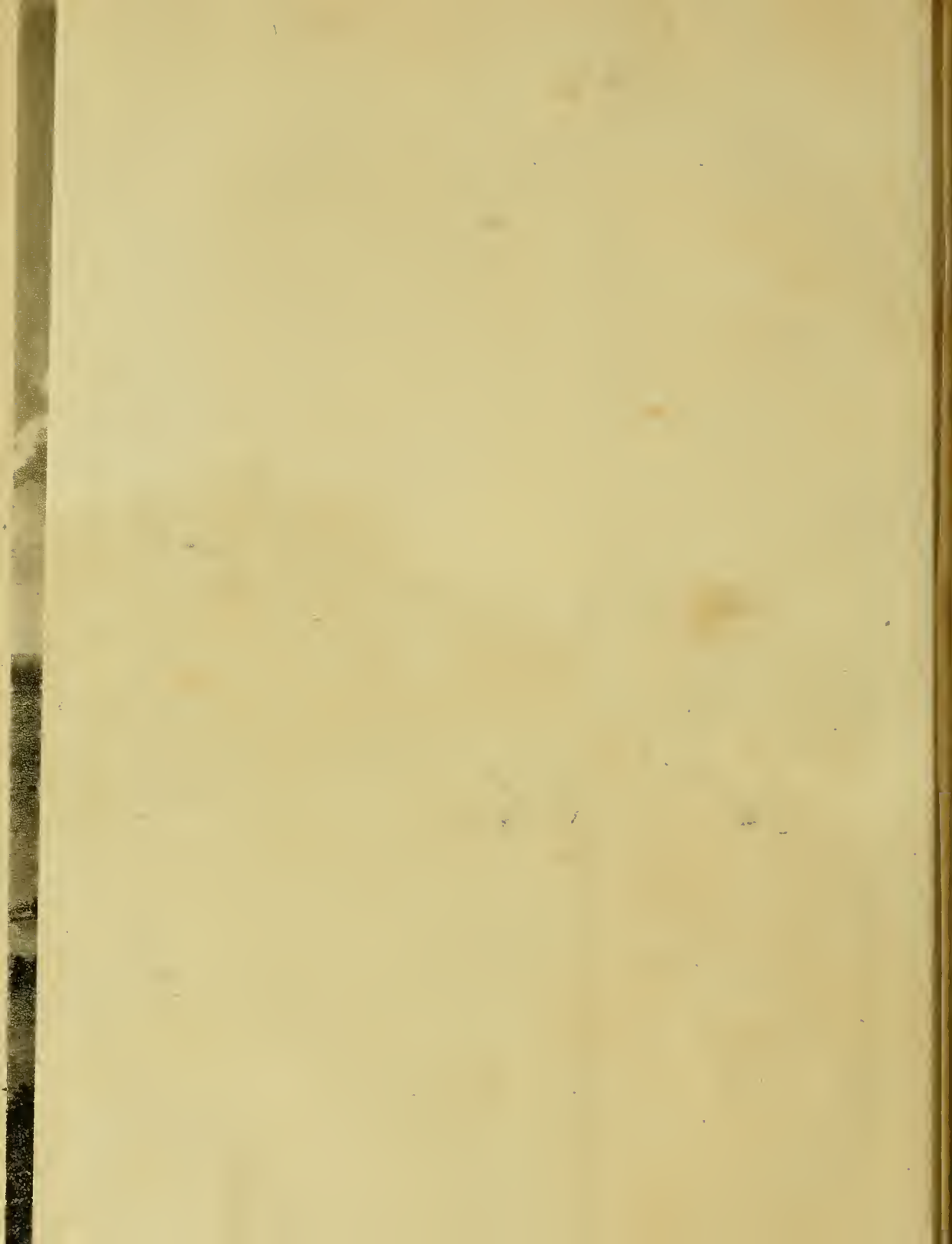




View of the Plain from the Tomb



The Tomb of Hector, on the Hill behind Boumarbachi.



However Mr. Bryant, unconvinced by this coincidence, boldly says, that these were all Thracian barrows founded before the æra of Troy, appropriated by the Grecians long afterwards to the names of their heroes ; and why ? “ * because such barrows are also found in Thrace.” One of these is ascribed to Portefilaus, and another to Hecuba. Certainly upon the Cynossema there is a barrow similar to all the rest, which may be that of Hecuba. This barrow stands above the European castle of the Dardanelles, and that this hill was the Cynossema we learn from Strabo, who places it west of Sestos, near Madytos and Koilos.† The two last towns still remain and are called Maita and Koilia. Many other barrows are seen in Thrace, Asia and Greece.‡ The Thracians colonised Phrygia, but the Thracians were Greek, witness the Greek of Orpheus, Musæus, Linus, and Thamyras. The heroic ages every where have conformed to the custom of burying in barrows. Pausanias mentions several in Greece and Asia, and I speak from my own knowledge when I declare he scarce ever mentions a tomb § of the heroic times, where a
barrow.

N O T E S.

* Mr. Bryant's “ Observations on a Treatise,” &c. page 39.

† Mela also places (Koilos) Cælus between Sestos and the Cynossema. *De sita Orb.* l. ii. ch. 2. p. 67. (Leyden Edit.) 12mo. 1646.

‡ See Strabo. l. x. p. 471. Note on page 39. of this work, see also page 40.

§ Amongst the tombs of this time mentioned by Pausanias, and still remaining, I cannot help taking notice of some of the most particular. The first is that of Antiope the Amazon, whose story is told us by Pausanias, and whose tomb was shewn in the road to Athens from Phalerus. These situations are known, and a barrow is found there. It was opened by Monsieur Fauvel, a French painter, employed in that country, by the Duc de Choiseul, late Ambassador from France to the Porte. He assured me that ashes and charcoal were found in it, and he had preserved a small vase of the same species with those called Etruscan: the workmanship of this was particularly curious: the vase was a glazed white, and some figures of very rude drawing were delineated on it; the outlines only marked in red. The nature of the vase, and the stile of the work both gave strong evidence of the infancy of the arts, and of the extreme antiquity of the vase. He gives us also the history of Auge, a daughter of Aleus, who was violated by Hercules.
She

barrow does not still exist. That the history of those in Thrace should be lost as well as that of our own Druidical tumuli, is no wonder ; but if any one now in England, was to give each of them the names of people who lived within a century or two, he would be laughed at or pitied, but certainly not followed.* Homer lived within a little time of the war of Troy ; would he hazard so absurd an application ? This is a presumption in favour of the Grecian story, in which there is united the uniform concurrence of every age against Mr. Bryant's unsupported conjecture. The reader will chuse between them.

On the agreement
of the Plain, with the
events of the Iliad.

To an attentive reader of Homer, the Map prefixed to the second part of this work, will be very satisfactory. Chevalier † in his treatise had shewn how well it agreed with Homer's battles, as detailed in the essay on that subject by the ingenious friend of Pope. On reading the Iliad, other circumstances of topography occur for ever ; and I have observed with pleasure that not an event is mentioned there, for which a place might not be assigned with

N O T E S.

She afterwards lived at Pergamus, and was beloved by Teuthras, the King of the Country, and still, he says, her tomb is seen at that city, near the Caicus, (γῆς χῶμα λίθου περι ἔχονμενον κρηπίδι) a mound of earth, girt with a breast work of stone. Such a mound is seen now in the very same situation, and is breasted by a high wall of enormous diamond cut stone, similar in masonry to the walls of Mycenæ, and, like them, evidently a work of the most remote antiquity. The two tombs of Eurytos and Creatus, are still seen at Cleonæ, and that of Minyas at Orchomenos. I could mention many more, but these will convince the reader of the accuracy of Pausanias, and will shew what were the tombs of the heroic ages, in the opinion of Grecian antiquarians. See Pausanias Athe. p. 2. Arcad. p. 239. Corinthian. p. 57. Bæotic. p. 311.

* For instance, the names of Henry VIII. Edward VI. or Queen Elizabeth ; or take it higher, even to William the Conqueror, the imposture would not be borne.

† See Chevalier on the Plain of Troy, p. 81. Essay on Homer's battles in Pope's Iliad, 2d vol.
probability

probability in the Plain of Bounarbachî. A recapitulation of the Iliad would be here unnecessary, and the reader may easily convince himself of the truth of the assertion, by turning to the Poem. The events there described coincide completely with the map of the Plain at this day; except in the distance of Troy from the shore, which, as the plain now stands, or rather as Mr. Bryant* makes Chevalier state it, does certainly not admit of the events of the day on which Patroclus died. M. Chevalier calls the distance from Bounarbachî to the sea four leagues, which Mr. Bryant interprets twelve miles, and then adds a mile to the citadel, which certainly had nothing to do with events which took place between the Scæan gate and the ships; and the ingenious traveller places that gate below Bounarbachî near the sources of the Scamander. Besides this M. Chevalier in giving this statement of four leagues, conforms only to the rough local computation of four $\Omega\rho\alpha\iota$ or hours from Bounarbachî to Jenichehr: Each of these consist of three Turkish or Italian miles, which are but little more than two miles English; and when we come to examine the map where there is a scale of English miles, we find that the distance from the sources of the Scamander to the Sigæan is there laid down as about nine miles and a half, and indeed this is nearly consonant to the truth.

Another circumstance which M. Chevalier takes notice of is, a considerable accretion of land at the mouth of the Simois, for a proof of which my reader need only look at the drawing of that part of the Plain:† the long low points of flat marshy ground run-

N O T E S.

* Mr. Bryant's "Observations on a Treatise, &c." page 1, 2.

† See Strabo, l. xiii. p. 595: Polybius, l. iv. p. 12.

ning forward into the sea sufficiently evince their origin ; and the Simois has this property in common with every river in the country.

We know that formerly the Sigæum and * Rheteum formed a bay, and (notwithstanding Mr. Bryant's doubts about the situation of the latter) I shall endeavour to prove that it was where Chevalier places it. Strabo † says expressly, that it was contiguous to the tomb of Ajax, and that tomb is, as I have shewn, fully ascertained. It is true he states the measurement from promontory to promontory inaccurately, but Pliny rectifies it and agrees perfectly with M. Chevalier. When Solinus ‡ represents it as forty stadia, the difference probably arose from the measure of the stadium. It is also evident that before the accretion of land in the Plain, this shore formed a Bay. Drawing then a line so as still to make it one, we shall find that from the Scæan gate to the mouth of the united rivers, was probably not more than seven or eight miles. If we consider also how much of this space § was occupied by the armies, when drawn up in the Plain we shall not think it so very hyperbolical, that large bodies of men should at one time be fighting near the ships, and at another almost up to the town. Most of the heroes also are represented as chasing the enemies about the Plain in chariots, and I will add that a less space than that which is here allotted will hardly be sufficient for the various manœuvres which Homer recounts, if

N O T E S.

* Mr. Bryant's " Observations on a Treatise, &c." p. 4.—† Strabo. loc. suprac.

‡ Plin. Histor. Natur. l. v. ch. 33.

§ It must be observed that the distance from the city to the antient confluence was probably about seven miles, and from thence to the shore, was in Homer's time only about six stadia, according to Strabo. Strabo, l. xiii. p. 598.

we only consider the numbers of each army. Hector,* it seems, sent after the battle, on the day preceding the death of Patroclus, for provisions from Troy, and kept his army under arms in the Plain ; supposing Troy then to have been at six or seven miles distance, it is very possible that the provisions would arrive in three or four hours ; but if Troy had been much nearer to the Grecian tents, the encampment of the Trojan army would have been very useless, as the town would have commanded the naval station nearly as well. Strabo gives his whole account from Demetrius, and with respect to the positive situation of Troy, is never therefore a decisive authority. He doubts some of the facts, which he relates from hear-say, and is in contradiction repeatedly with Pliny and other respectable authorities. But the springs of the Scamander are so plainly pointed out ; the ground-plan of the city, and the rocks of the Acropolis afford such decisive proof of the situation of Troy ; that when in addition to these facts I consider the marks of building still seen in the form of the hill, I can entertain no reasonable doubt but that this was the situation alluded to by Homer.

Much has also been said on the position of the camp. Chevalier and others make the Sigæan and Rhetean promontories the boundaries of their camp, thus confounding the stations of Achilles and Ajax with the situation of their tombs. That the tomb of the first was not far from his station, we know from the *Odyssæy*.† Supposing, therefore, the camp on this side to be flanked with the promontory under which his tomb is seen, it is probable that the mouth of the river formed the other boundary ;

NOTES:

* Hom. Il. viii. ver. 505.—† Hom. Odyss. 24. ver. 80.

and this will account for the straitness * of the Grecian quarters since the ships could not all be drawn along the shore in one line, and Agamemnon's voice might be almost heard from the centre to the two extremities. Indeed we find that the allies of the Trojans were in the night encamped *παρ' ἄλος* on the sea shore, but this could not happen if the Grecian camp occupied the whole of it; the junction of the rivers and the tomb of Ilus were very near the camp, so near that the Grecians could hear the noises from Hector's position, when he kept his men under arms in the Plain. This supposition also obviates an objection of Mr. Bryant's with regard to the Simois and † Scamander running through the camp; but indeed the rivers are of that nature, that there is no occasion to have recourse to such an expedient.

On the topography of the Plain, as described by the later writers of antiquity.

If in addition to the testimony of Homer we examine the collateral evidence of other ancient writers, it will seem to strengthen his authority, and will completely shew the accuracy of the adjoined map. Pliny ‡ coming from the south along the coast, arrives at Alexandria, then at Nee, "then at Scamander a navigable stream, and then at Sigeum a town on the Sigæan promontory, then at the port of the Grecians, into which flowed Xanthus joined with the Simois, making first a marsh, and now called

N O T E S.

* This is a conjecture it will be said; be it so, if it is uncontradicted by Homer, and if the suppositions that make the camp of greater extent are not equally favourable to his account, the conjecture will at least shew the possibility of his being accurate, and will obviate the objection arising from such inconsistency.

† Bryant's "Observations on a Treatise, &c." p. 6, 7.

‡ Plinii Natur. Hist. l. v. cap. 30. Troadis primus locus Hamaxitus dein Cebrenia, ipsaque Troas, Antigonía dicta, nunc Alexandria, Colonia Romanorum, oppidum Nee, Scamander *amnis navigabilis*, & in promontorio quondam Sigæum oppidum. Dein portus Achæorum in quem influit Xanthus Simoenti junctus, Stagnumque prius faciens Palæ-Scamander, &c.

the Old Scamander; beyond this creek are the shores of Rheum, then Rheteum, Dardanus, and Arisba." We find therefore that the new and old channel of the Scamander were known to Pliny, and that the new channel was navigated, which will account for its formation; and it probably was used near its mouth as a canal from New Ilium or Sigæum to that part of the shore.

Ptolemy, who does not mention the new channel of the Scamander, mentions these places in the following order, and is also thus quoted by Mr. Bryant himself; coming from the north he enumerates Dardanum, Simoeis, Scamander, Sigæum, * Alexandria, Lectum; but these correspond precisely with our description; and indeed we shall find that all the difference between ancient authors arose from the new mouth of the Scamander, and that this single circumstance cleared up, all the obscurity is removed.

By Strabo, that is by Strabo's informer, the Scamander of Homer seems not to have been known, and indeed this is to be accounted for in the same manner; since prepossessed with the idea, that the Simois and Scamander of Homer must unite their waters, he pursued the greater stream into the mountains, and then from its name at the mouth, concluded this the Scamander, † and calls it so, notwithstanding he owns that it had not the characteristics mentioned in Homer. Notwithstanding this, at other times Strabo places the Scamander and Simois both in the Plain; ‡ and seems as if he considered the lesser stream to be the Simois. Indeed he makes the two rivers join near New Ilium, and no streams but

N O T E S.

* Ptolemy Geog. p. 137. Bryant's Observations, &c. p. 31.

† Strabo, l. xiii. p. 602.—‡ Strabo, l. xiii. p. 597, 598.

those here described, can be meant by Strabo in this passage. The confusion resulting from this is inextricable, and shews plainly that he had not been there in person. But we find that in his days most of the monuments of Homer still existed, and were pointed out in this Plain;* the Erineos or place of wild fig-trees, the Sepulchres of Æsyetes, Batieia, and Ilus. The Callicolone also was seen in his time, and retained its name. The naval station, *Naustathmus*, was shewn also; and he argues from its situation, with great justice, that New Ilium was not on the site of ancient Troy. We may also learn the state of the Plain from another passage. He says New Ilium was near the conflux of the rivers, and in his time twelve stadia distant from the sea. The conflux is now at a much greater distance, and Strabo† adds, that of these twelve stadia, we ought to deduct half; since the whole of this part of the Plain is formed by the rivers; so that it seems the distance of the conflux from the shore is estimated by Strabo,‡ at six stadia in the time of Homer, and it is now about sixteen or seventeen. He also mentions the tomb and temple of Ajax, near the Rhetean promontory on the edge of a sandy shore. The sepulchre of Achilles and temple in honour of him were situated on the Sigæan;§ also the monuments of Antilochus and Patroclus; at which shrines the Ilians sacrificed. Strabo also seems to have been misled by the confusion which the new mouth of the Scamander occasioned; for in the survey of the coast he mentions Sigæum|| next to Rheteum, and then the naval station, and the camp of the Greeks, the Stoma limne, and mouth

N O T E S.

* Strabo, l. xiii. p. 597, 598.—† Strabo, l. xiii. p. 598.—‡ Strabo, l. xiii. p. 595.

§ Strabo, l. xiii. p. 595, 596.—|| Ibid ibidem.

of the Scamander. But all these objects were between the two promontories, and the mistake has arisen from the mouth of Scamander being changed, and Strabo not being so well informed as Pliny of the distinction of the Old and New Scamander (Palæ Scamander). In another place, however, he seems to have been better informed of the situation of the Plain. "For," says he, "the Simois and Scamander forming a junction *in the Plain*, bring down a quantity of mud, and heap up the shore, &c.—But the length of *this shore* (της παραλίας ταύτης) from the Rhetean to the Sigæan promontory is sixty stadia." In this passage Strabo evidently places the confluence and the mouth of the two rivers between the promontories mentioned. Here then Strabo is directly contrary to the hypothesis which I combat; and the passage is perfectly correspondent to the geography of the Plain of Bournabachi. The passage in which the places along the coast are mentioned, is possibly corrupted therefore by transcribers, and indeed few ancient authors have been handed down to us in a more imperfect condition than Strabo.

At the mouth of the Old Scamander, Pliny informs us that a small village stood called Scamandria,* which had a port; and Ilium immune or New Ilium stood a Roman mile and a half higher up, that is, as near as can be, twelve stadia. Here then we have a confirmation of Strabo, who says that New Ilium was exactly twelve stadia from the shore in his time; being near the conflux of the rivers, as we have seen above; and to this town Scamandria was probably a kind of harbour. Strabo, therefore by no

N O T E.

* Pliny Natur. Hist. Est tamen et nunc Scamandria civitas parva, & 1500 pass. remotum a portu Ilium immune.

means mistook Scamandria for New Ilium, as has been said by some.* Nor did Pliny authorise us to consider his New Ilium, as the same with Strabo's *Pagus Iliensium*, which he places at thirty stadia or about three miles and a half higher still. Here Strabo† imagined Troy might be found, but there is nothing in the Plain that can favour such a supposition, and his means of judging were defective, since he only speaks from hearsay.

So far the geographers inform us concerning the situation and state of the Plain in their time. In former ages we find it also mentioned by the historians; and first in Herodotus.‡ In the route by which the army of Xerxes marched to Abydos, is included the Troad. There is a passage in this author which has much perplexed Mr. Chevalier; he says Xerxes marching from Antandros, passed Mount Ida on the left hand *ἐς ἀριστερὴν χεῖρα*, which Mr. Chevalier would willingly translate "on the left branch of the mountain," but the words will scarcely bear that interpretation. Mr. Bryant remarks very justly, that according to Homer, Gargarus was the Ida *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*, and this was the name of it in Herodotus; it was considered as the summit of Ida, and therefore whoever passed it on the left hand, passed Ida on the left. Such was the route of Xerxes.§ When the army arrived at the Scamander, having not met

N O T E S.

* See a Review of Mr. Bryant's publication. British Critic, No. 50.

† Strabo, l. xiii. p. 597.

‡ Herod. l. v. cap. 93. l. vii. cap. 42. quoted in Chevalier's Description, &c. p. 42.

§ "Ἐπὶ τῷ δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἀφίκετο Ξέρξης ἐς τὸ Περίαμυ Πέργαμον ἀνέβη ἡμερὴν ἔχων θεήσασθαι. θησαύμενος δὲ καὶ πυθόμενος κείνων ἔκαστα, τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδῃ ἔθυσε βῆς χιλίας. χοῶς δὲ οἱ μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ἔχραντο. Herod. vii. 42. Xerxes ascended from the Scamander to the Pergamus of Priam; he there sacrificed to Minerva Ilias, and to the manes of the heroes. The Pergamus of Priam,

met with a river since they left Sardes, they *exhausted its stream*, which did not suffice to the men and cattle; this shews the size of it, and also the nature, for they did not drink at Simois, which was a muddy troubled torrent. Xerxes being come to that river, *ascended* to the Pergamus of Priam to view the place. When the army marched away, they left Rheteum, Ophryneum, and Dardanus, on their left, and the Gergethes and Teucris on their right; i.e. inland. This quotation I have mentioned, though given in Chevalier, since the route I have marked out, appears to me to agree entirely with that of a person coming from Antandros, and obviates the objection arising from the situation of Ida.

The visit paid by Alexander to the tombs is related by Freinshemius in his appendix to Q. Curtius,* who transcribed it originally from Arrian. This account is given us with great detail in the work of Chevalier. Q. Curtius himself abridges it, for he says, that Alexander,† having offered several different sacrifices, more particularly venerated the tomb of Achilles, and declared him the happiest of men, who had such a poet as Homer to celebrate his praises. Lucan‡ makes Cæsar penetrate into the Troad, but this fact is not mentioned in his own Commentaries; the authority of the poet is therefore

N O T E S.

Priam was different from the New Ilium which never went by that name. Did another Pergamus exist in Egypt? or where are we to look for it, if not where Xerxes found it on the banks of the Scamander? It was then under the protection of Minerva Ilias; a strong suggestion that this fortress was once Ilium; and it is incumbent also on Mr. Bryant to prove that Minerva was imported here after the Trojan war, since he will not allow her to have been at that time a Deity of Phrygia.

* Arrian. l. p. 32. Alexander also sacrificed Ἀθηνᾶ τῇ, Ἰλιάδι “to the Ilian Minerva,” to Priam, and to Achilles whose tomb he crowned.

† Q. Curt. l. ii. ch. 4.—‡ Lucan Pharsal. l. ix. ver. 960 et seq.

G g

doubtful,

doubtful, but it tends at least to shew Lucan's opinions on this subject. His description of the Plain I have already set down at length. All these accounts, and many other less important, appear in the strongest manner to confirm the identity of the Plain, and of the monuments found in it. That they agree with Homer's account has been shewn in the foregoing parts of this work. We here see that all the Geographers of Antiquity who have come down to us, agree also as much as we can expect; and that we can account for the difference that has arisen amongst them from particular local circumstances, which therefore corroborate their accounts in general. Other quotations are cited by Chevalier already, and still more might be collected, but those I have set down are sufficient to prove the facts, and are unshaken by any contradictory testimony.

Recapitulation.

Having in the first part of this work endeavoured to prove the possibility of Homer's two poems, containing historical facts, I have proceeded in the second part to prove, that they really did so. I have shewn that Homer gives a very detailed account of the situation of the Plain of Troy, and both from M. Chevalier's work, and the testimony of what I myself have seen, have shewn that there is a Plain in that situation, and that no other exists which can have the shadow of a claim to rivalry. I have shewn many circumstances illustrative of the nature of the Plain, and also that it had two rivers which are rather particularly described; and that in these circumstances the situation I had assigned is exactly such as previous to the finding it we should have expected to find from the account given us in Homer. I have shewn that Homer mentions several objects as existing before the Trojan war, as well as the city of Troy; that the situations of these are very minutely described, and

and that in this Plain there are situations which agree with them in the most minute particulars, and that traces of many of them are to be seen at this day ; the form and situation of the tombs of some of the heroes are mentioned by Homer, and it is mentioned that there were others of which the topography is not particularized. Tombs of that form we see do still remain in this plain, and where Homer has specified the place we there find them ; we also find others which are not specified. Referring to a map of the Plain, we find that the battles and events recorded by Homer, have every where an assignable place in it. And lastly, to the testimony of Homer I have added that of some of the ancient Geographers and Historians of the greatest credit, and have shewn that their testimonies uniformly coincide with his, and that their differences arise from a real change in the topography of this plain, which therefore was certainly the situation where they all fought for the races of the Iliad. The inference from hence, is therefore, either that the events recorded did really happen, or that Homer adapted the whole of his history with the greatest accuracy, to a real scene. That the latter was not the case is what I shall endeavour to prove in the few pages which remain.

As I have already shewn that we have no rational ground to disbelieve the story of the Iliad, so in many parts of the foregoing work I have hinted at the reasons we have for ranking it with history. Turning back to Mr. Bryant's first chapter, I will repeat his own concessions: "In the description of the siege and of the great events with which it was attended, the poet," (says he) "is very particular and precise. The situation of the city is pointed out as well as the camp of the Grecians, &c. &c. so that the very landscape presents itself to the eye of the reader. *Hence the whole seems attended with the greatest appearance of truth.* The poet also

Proofs from the internal evidence of the Iliad, and from the authority of ancient writers, in favour of the reality of the story.

also in many parts of this work, introduces incidentally, past events as well known. He alludes to the arrival of Memnon, and to the death of his father Antilochus by that hero. He speaks of Pyrrhus as succeeding to Achilles, &c. &c. All these casual references seem to have been portions of a traditional history, well known in the time of Homer, and as they are introduced almost undesignedly, they are attended with a great semblance of truth. For such incidental and partial intimations are seldom to be found in romance or fable."

Having shewn the futility of all Mr. Bryant's objections, and by consequence the reasonableness of these concessions, the inference from them will follow of course. But the air of truth with which the Iliad is written, is by no means the only proof of its veracity. When we examine the different traditions preserved to us by other Authors, we find a great many varying accounts of these times, evidently independent of Homer and of each other; some containing additional circumstances, and some contradicting different parts of his narration. All of them, however, agree in the general outline, and their difference arises from a portion of them being consigned to futurity by the authentic and unaltered writings of Homer, and the rest being handed down to the later ages of Greece by uncertain and varying traditions. Of these traditions I have mentioned two or three; one was found by Herodotus,* recorded as a well-known fact in Mr. Bryant's favourite seminaries, the colleges of the Egyptian Priests; Strabo† informs us of another which prevailed among the people of

N O T E S.

* Herod. l. 2. ch. 117.— † Strabo, l. xiii. p. 607.

Scepsis. In the first chapter of Herodotus,* we find another prevalent amongst the Persians, and the people of Asia, who dated their hostility to the Greeks from this event, and give an account of prior transactions representing the Greeks as the aggressors. Of the Grecian traditions I take no notice;† their altars to the heroes, their local memorials, their festivals and games allusive to the war of Troy, would fill a volume, and are too well known to require illustration here. Add to these the united testimony of Asia and Egypt; where Herodotus in person was made acquainted with this part of their annals; and it must be owned, that no historical event was ever supported by a stronger concurrence of traditional evidence.

Let us next recollect the succession of events which took place before, during, and after the war of Troy; and we shall find that together with Homer, Mr. Bryant's hypothesis annihilates the whole of the early history of Greece. Before the war we are acquainted with most of the heroes, their birth, descent, and intermarriages: Thus Agamemnon and Menelaus marry two sisters, the daughters of Tyndarus, and rule over Mycenæ and Sparta. Ulysses marries Penelope the daughter of Icarius; and traditions, and monuments relative to these facts, and a hundred similar to them, were found in the country of Sparta, Ithaca, and Argolis. We know independent of the siege the private history of all the great families of Greece during this time; many of these are slightly alluded to by Homer, and are preserved by other Authors. Thus, Clytemnestra and Ægiale plotted against their husbands during their absence; Penelope and

NOTES.

* Herod. l. i. c. 1.—† See Pausanias, &c. passim.

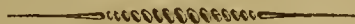
Telemachus were oppressed by enemies till the return of Ulysses. Pyrrhus was educated at Scyros by his mother's father, till he succeeded to the command and honours of Achilles; and different stories of this sort all connected with the Iliad, and preserved by other means, shew that it contains only a few links of the great chain of events, which Homer's hands have preserved from the rust that covers the rest. After the Iliad, we know the lot of the heroes,* we know the conduct of their wives and children: Greece weakened by her dear-earned victory, and torn by internal dissensions, saw all her thrones overturned by the return of the Heraclidæ. Thus we have at once a regular series of events, of which no part can be annihilated without affecting the credibility of the whole of history, and the united testimony of the ancient world.

To these evidences I will only add the almost universal concurrence of the ancient Authors, to whom I place references at the end of this work. We find almost every poet from Hesiod downward, mentioning this event; we find it recorded in every historian who treats of the times. Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus, give it their unanimous sanction. The geographers acknowledge the places mentioned to exist, and Strabo's whole book is a commentary on the poet. The philosophers and critics have never looked upon the story as fabulous. Men of science and judgment in all ages have paid the same homage to Homer's *veracity*; and Alexander, by sacrificing at the tomb of Achilles, shewed in what light his tutor Aristotle had taught him to consider the Iliad. The reader, who will examine the references I make to ancient Authors, will soon convince himself of their

N O T E.

* For instance; The particulars of the murder of Pyrrhus by Orestes, that of Clytemnestra, the sufferings of Electra and Iphigenia, &c. all which are the frequent theme of the Greek tragedians
truth;

truth; and his mind will probably suggest to him *many* more; but these are sufficient to establish my assertion. Therefore supposing the story false, Homer adapted it not only to the plain, but to the names, characters, and collateral history of the times; and what is more extraordinary, to the traditions of Asia, Egypt, and different parts of the world, which traditions were discovered by Herodotus; not to mention the prophetic spirit which he must have had to adapt himself to many collateral stories, brought into light by Authors who lived long after him. Nothing but acknowledging the truth can extricate us from this perplexed labyrinth of absurdity; nothing more remains for me to prove. To those who have never doubted the veracity of Homer, I may perhaps have afforded some satisfaction, by the testimony I have given in his favour from the actual state of the Plain. From those, who, without being aware of the whole merits of the cause, had placed an implicit confidence in the well-deserved fame of Mr. Bryant, I have perhaps removed some prejudices. If either as a witness, or as an advocate I have been the means of throwing additional light on this celebrated part of Ancient History; as this only has been my intention, the candid reader will make allowances for the manner in which I have executed it.



Authors who mention Troy as a real Place in Phrygia.

Hesiod *Εργα η̃ η̃μεραι.* l. i. ver. 163. et passim.
 Pindar Olymp. ii. Stroph. v. et passim. Olymp. ix. Antistr. iii. Olymp. x. Ep. i. &c. &c.
 Tryphiodorus *Ιλιε̃ αλωσις* This author was an Egyptian.
 Callimachus *εις̃ λετρα της̃ Παλλαδος.* ver. 18. et passim. The Librarian of Alexandria.
 Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, passim See Agamemnon, Philoctetes, Troades, &c. &c. &c.
 Lycophron. *Αλεξανδρα* passim. This Author wrote in Egypt.
 Apollonius Rhodius. Librarian of Alexandria
 Syagrius, Phantasia, Daphne, Dictys Cretensis, Dares Phrygius, Helena, authors who lived before Homer, according to Mr. Bryant himself, and two of them Egyptians as he asserts.
 Æschines.

Demosthenis *επιταφιος λογος*. p. 1392. l. ii. Oratores Græci. Edit. Reisk.

Lefches, the author of the little Iliad, from which Sophocles took his Philoctetes, "quem ante Terpandrum vixisse ait Clemens Alexandrinus." p. 333. Tyrwhit. notes de re Poetica.

Proclus. Fragment, published by Mr. Tyrwhit. Note on Aristotle de re Poetic. Sec. 38. It is a Synopsis of a Poem, mentioned by Herodotus and Aristotle, *τα κυπρια*, and the subject is the Rape of Helen, &c. therefore Aristotle, the *κυπρια* and Proclus are all on my side.

Theocritus Idyll. xxii. ver. 214. et passim.

Coluthus *περι Ελενης αεπαγην*.

Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus, Strabo, Pausanias, Arrian, Aristotle, are quoted already in this work; the Arundel marbles and chronological writers are also cited.

Dionys. Halicarnass. p. 27. ver. 9. p. 49. ver. 25. et passim.

Of Latin Authors. Livy derives Rome from Phrygia, which if wrong, still argues his belief in the groundwork of the story.

After him Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Valerius Flaccus, Petruvius, Q. Curtius, Statius, Lucretius, Lucan, &c. &c. &c. In short on every side "C'est l'embarras des richesses," and the authorities I have given are as conclusive as if I multiplied quotations tenfold.



Writers who disbelieved the Tale of Troy entirely.

Anaxagoras. This Philosopher born in the 70th Olympiad, and quoted by Diogenes Laertius, as the *first* Sceptic on the subject.

Metrodorus apud. Diog. Laert. and Hesych. Tatian. Assy. p. 262. his Contemporary.

A *Person* in Athenæus. Athen. l. xii. p. 510. of whom we know nothing.

Basil Magnus *προς τας νεκς*. An Author of the lower ages of the Roman Empire.

Mr. Bryant, A. D. 1796. The only author who places it in Egypt. His authority only "I imagine." Bryant, p. 62.

ERRATA.

Page 69. Notes. Line 5, for Helen, read Homer.

Page 71. Last line, for *Σκεπριος*, read *Σκεφριος*.

Page 81. Line 5, for *Ελλης ποινος*, read *Ελλης πονιος*.

Page 85. Line 13, for *οιτεμενος*, read *οι λεμενος*.

Page 90. Line 2, for *αριστρα*, read *αξιςτρα*.

Page 102. Last line but one, for *ασιδε*, read *ασιδε*.





Special 90-B
15413

Special

90-B 15413

Bound w/

90-B 15417

90-B 15419

90-B 15421

90-B 15424

90-B 15422

90-B 15425

